

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Volume 43 Number 7
APRIL 1948

*Cheer and scorn are to comedy
what fear and pity are to tragedy.*

The Quintessence of Comedy

Abraham Feldman

ARISTOTLE MUST HAVE DONE for comedy in the lost second book of his *Poetics* what he did for tragedy in the first, revealed its essential nature, analyzed its history, and determined its potential forms and methods. Since the age of the Stagirite there have been innumerable efforts to establish a theory of comedy as substantial and sublime as his theory of tragedy. All of these appear to contradict each other hopelessly, and none has attained even the semblance of universal esteem.

AT THE CONCLUSION of the Symposium Plato reports that Socrates was arguing to the two of his fellow banqueters who were not yet conquered by wine the thesis that tragedy and comedy are one in essence: the poet great in one should be equally great in the other. What Aristophanes thought of the thesis we are not told, nor how Socrates defended it. In the dialogue of *Philebus* the sage provided a suggestion for the solving of the riddle. He says that when the soul witnesses a comedy, it "experiences a mingled emotion of pleasure and pain." How do the pleasure and pain that comedy inspires differ from the same feelings derived from tragedy? In what does the unity of the opposite emotions produced by the opposite forms of drama consist? Plato did not pursue the question further, so far as we know.

We may be certain of one thing, however—that his answer would not have been the delivery of another puzzle, such as George

Santayana gave the world when he declared that tragedy sees man from within, comedy from without. This reply is really a denial of the Socratic view of the unity of artistic impulse at the core of the two kinds of play. Santayana's notion is no better than Horace Walpole's epigram, "Life is a tragedy to those who feel, a comedy to those who think." Walpole and he are contending that the artist great in tragedy must subvert himself or turn himself inside out in order to execute great comedy. The polarity of the types of drama is split in half, and the works of theatrical art, compelling laughter and grief alternately, from the geniuses of Aeschylus, Euripides, Calderón, Shakespeare, Goethe, Gerhardt Hauptmann, Ibsen, Ernest Lacy, are made to seem independent products, utterly alien to each other, having no common fountainhead.

The Cult of Dionysus

IT IS AN AXIOM of dramatic history that both tragedy and comedy evolved from the single source of the cult of Dionysus. Indeed, the connection between comedy and the god of wine is clearer than his relation to tragedy. Athenaeus informs us that Dionysus was worshiped by the people of Lampsacus under the name of Priapus, the phallic divinity.¹ Clement of Alexandria, the Christian philosopher, declares that the Sicyonians nicknamed the god Choiropsale, a term expressing various exuberant practices of women. In the

ancient ithyphallic songs of the Dionysiac religion Aristotle found the origin of comedy.² The god is far more devoted to carnal love than he is to the delights of alcohol; wine probably was used by his worshipers at first as a swift means to ecstasy, and after serving for years in the holy ceremonies came to be considered as itself divine. The sacred drink of Vedic India, Soma, which was actually adored in a separate ritual, plainly passed through a similar evolution before it was promoted to godhead.

In the Vedic poems are those curious creatures, the Ghandarvas, merry drinkers of wine and chasers of nymphs, who are said to be the forerunners of the Greek satyrs. The great Indian god of fertility, Siva, with whom the Ghandarvas are closely associated, has strikingly much in common with Dionysus. A Greek legend, narrated in Euripides' tragedy *The Bacchantes*, tells how Dionysus once wandered in northern India. Perhaps it would be possible to trace the progress of his cult from far Asia to the Greek archipelagoes by the many towns along the old trade routes from the Orient to the Occident which contain his root name Nysus. No matter how his cult came to Greece, it first appeared in the northeastern mountains of Thrace as a worship peculiar to women. The mark of the feminine upon the religion is manifested in the faith that Dionysus had no known father. His mother was Semele (whose name reminds me of the Hebrew word for olive oil), and she was "brought to bed," says Euripides, by a lightning bolt.

Men Also Join the Cult

THIS GOD, whom Homer deplored as "the frenzied Dionysus," was worshiped with songs and dances by his women devotees, the Maenads and Bassarids. It was from their dithyrambs and phallic ballads that tragedy and comedy sprang. The cult spread through the Greek peninsula and surrounding islands and became enormously popular. Men insisted on invading the ritual and eventually usurped and transformed it.

Dressed as *ithyphalloi*, wearing masks of drunken grimaces and garlands on their heads

and swinging huge leather models of the male organ of generation, they paraded through the village streets at regular intervals of the pastoral year. They danced the *cordax* in the sunny blue of winy Grecian air, a dance which would have made the burlesque-show bawds of our Christian commonwealth blush. In the minds of the dancers there was never an obscene thought. They were celebrating an act of holy communion with their dearest god, their savior from drouth and death, the *daimon* or *neshomah* who quickened green life from winter burial, who made vineyards and virgins teem. In order to understand the religious nature of the Dionysian dancers we should meditate on the very first commandment given by Jehovah to the first males and females: *P'ru u'ru!* "Be fruitful and multiply!"

The town of Megara in southern Greece claimed the invention of comedy as an art form. Tradition says that when the Megarians established their city-state as a democracy, comedy was born. Democracy did not last long in Megara. It flourished from about 581, when the citizens expelled the tyrant Theagenes, to 424, when the oligarchic party was restored to power with Spartan aid. Even if the tradition were not true, we would still be confronted with the problem: How were comedy and democracy connected in the Greek intellect?

Origin of Comedy in Athens

I BELIEVE that Athenian tradition contains a kernel of truth about this connection. The story runs that certain Attic rustics who were injured by some wealthy city-dwellers came to Athens one night and visited their oppressors' houses. Standing at the gates of the usurers they loudly proclaimed their grievances without mentioning names. The governors of Athens decided after solemn consultation that such public exposure of greed and arrogance was salutary and sweet. The farmers were ordered to repeat their performance in the agora, the market place. Fear of being recognized by their rich leeches prompted them to disguise their faces by smearing them with wine lees. The audience of the histrionic

peasants discovered from their plangent outcries and mimicry who the guilty plutocrats were and howled with indignation as well as hilarity. Athenians then urged popular poets to emulate such denunciation of vices. The first poet to comply with the folk demands was the comedian Susarion.³

Susarion was a citizen of Megara, who flourished, according to the Parian marble chronicle, from about 580 to 560. This period coincides with the prime of his native city's democracy. The combination of sexual liberty, associated with the keeping of Dionysiac holidays, and the new-found political liberty gave rise to the art of comedy. Susarion's sport was triumphant over the other Megarian entertainments, and news of his work spread. He was invited to organize like revelries in Icaria, where he arrived when the "father of tragedy," Thespis, was still a young man devoted to the dithyramb.

Cornford's Theory

FROM AN INTENSIVE study of the canon of Aristophanes, Francis M. Cornford emerged with the conviction that comedy developed from a primitive marriage ritual in which Dionysus typified the revival of vegetation after winter.⁴ Cornford is unquestionably right when he identifies the god with the fructifying principle of nature, i.e., sex in humanity. I also think the dithyrambic dance resulted from a dramatic simulation of "the union of Heaven and Earth for the renewal of all life in Spring." But he is unquestionably wrong when he sees in that mythic union the origin of comedy.

Comedy is not a natural phenomenon like the joy of the animal kingdom over the departure of winter. The primordial dances of Dionysian bliss were no more works of social art than the gambolling of lambs or the dalliance of lions. Cornford has made the same mistake in literary research that some scientists make in biology, convinced that when he has reduced an Aristophanic masterwork to its constituent elements he has explained it. After we have discovered the atomic structure of a living body, it is our supreme task to find out how those atoms joined to form a

thing whose motions no laws of physics or chemistry can explain.

Cornford need not have gone to all the trouble, his Herculean labors, of dissecting the comedies of Aristophanes to arrive at the evidence of his theory. Our giant of anthropological genius, Adolph Bandelier, wrote a wonderful book, *The Delight Makers*, which offers even stronger testimony than he has assembled for his naturalistic interpretation of the literature of Greek laughter. The "delight makers," the *Koshare*, were a "cluster" within certain tribes of ancient New Mexico who were fabled to have been the saviors of their people when they came to the southwest in search of a new homeland. On the long journey from the mysterious country of their genesis, across mountains and deserts, the *Koshare* had kept up the spirits of the nomads by dances, ditties, and sexual merriment. Long after the Indian wanderers had settled down, the initiates of this "cluster" were revered for their deliberate jocosity. "Their task it is to keep the people happy and merry; but they must also fast, mortify themselves, and pray to Those Above that every kind of fruit may ripen in its time, even the fruit in woman's womb." The Greek incarnations of these "official jesters" may have been the satyrs who encouraged the ancestors of the Hellenes when they crossed the mountains and deserts of Caucasia in quest of a western home.

Evolution of Comedy

THE DITHYRAMB and phallic dance were the offspring of the satyric festival, and these works of barbarous art had to undergo a long evolution before they could turn into comedy. Like all drama, comedy signifies that society is suffering from a sharp cleavage which tends to engender strife. The emergence from the chorus of the first actor symbolizes that schism in society. Dialogue was an expression of conflict, of controversy (which is the definition of the Greek word *dialectic*). When the adorers of Dionysus turned from choral celebration of the deity to make music out of an internal division, drama was born. And comedy was born when the internal division

of the Greek city-state reached its perfect form in the endless fighting of the factions of democracy.

The history of the ludicrous drama from that day to the present has been the history of artistic struggles between the unbalanced powers of sex and state, or love and money. Perhaps the most popular comedies are those which mix the two antagonists in the fun of cuckoldry, the rivalry between an unlovely but prosperous husband and a poor but dishonest lover.

Aristophanic comedy, remarks the greatest of English critics, Coleridge, "is poetry in its most democratic form, and it is a fundamental principle with it, rather to risk all the confusion of anarchy, than to destroy the independence and privileges of its individual constituents."

Comic Catharsis

THE POLAR contrariness that makes for comic drama has an effect on us like that which distinguishes tragedy, the effect which Aristotle calls *catharsis*, purgation. Tragedy cleanses the soul with the passions of pity and terror. Comedy also cleanses the soul, but with the very opposite passions. Corresponding to tragic pity is comic *scorn*, the feeling generally linked with satire, which was the purpose of comedy when it left the phase of genital jollification. Corresponding to terror is the feeling which I have chosen to designate by the archaic word *cheer*. Originally it meant nothing but *face*. But it came to have the same significance that the word *face* has in the Orient. Aristotle calls it *pistis*, and the standard translations English the word as "confidence" or "faith." German scholarship offers a better translation, as the Osmaston version of Hegel's *Philosophy of Art* excellently shows. Apparently ignorant of Hegel's derivation of his theory of comedy from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Osmaston calls "self-assurance" what the Greek-English lexicons call "confidence."

Hegel affirmed that the primary element in the comic is "self-assurance capable of rising superior to its own contradiction, and experiencing therein no taint of bitterness or sense of misfortune whatever. It is the happy frame

of mind, a healthy condition of soul, which, fully aware of itself, can suffer the dissolution of its aims." This robust cheer is of course derived from sexual well-being, being free of reliance on lucre, external riches, commodities. It is a state of mind characteristic of the earliest Christians, who gave no thought for the morrow, rarely labored for livelihood, and strove to emulate the lilies of the valley and the heaven-shielded sparrows. What superb comedians the pristine Christians were may be seen in Lucian of Samosata, or else, to descend from the sublime to the absurd and vulgar, in George Bernard Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion*.

Cheer and Scorn

CHEER IS THE FEELING which exalts the mind in the presence of whatever is light and transient in human sufferings, and unites it with the human sufferer. (The reader will please note that I am transposing to comic analysis the mode of definition applied to tragedy by the wittiest of twentieth-century Aristotelians, the Irish comic genius, James Joyce.) Scorn is the feeling which exalts the mind in the presence of whatever is light and transient in human sufferings, and unites it with the secret cause. This last union is at the same time an alienation from the human sufferer. Cheer and scorn are the particular manifestations of the pleasure and pain which Plato observed were produced by genuine comedy.

When we scorn a sufferer we are identifying ourselves with the motive force of his misery. The secret cause is hidden from the victim, and it is his struggle to discover and conquer it which makes the plot of the play. In the case of comedy the secret cause is revealed to be inevitable and, what is more, permanently present to the victims. Thus comedy gives the illusion of perpetual motion, but actually its sound and fury are propelled in circular revolution where nothing is ended or, in truth, begun, like a dog in pursuit of its tail. The only difference exhibited by the comic cycle is in the rate of velocity, which is often swift enough to make the wheels shriek but which finally spins to a tune that terrestrially mocks the music of the spheres.

Aristotle defines comedy as a *mimesis* "of men worse than the normal, worse, however, not as regards any and every kind of fault, but only as regards one special sort, the ridiculous, which is a species of the ugly. The ridiculous may be defined as an error or deformity not productive of pain or harm to others. The mask, for instance, that excites laughter is something ugly and distorted without causing pain." Thus Dante's "maestro di color che sanno" corrected his teacher Plato, in whose heart and brain comedy produced a kind of sorrow.

Laughter That Brings Pain

NEVERTHELESS, the feeling of scorn is not a pleasant one, and the exaltation it induces makes us an easy mark for ridicule beside depriving us of the vital warmth of companionship with our own species. The greatest clowns, like Grimaldi off the stage and Canio upon it, have usually been solitary and therefore sad souls. Some splendid comedians who cultivated scorn to excess, at the expense of cheer, have lived wretchedly, and their satire frequently culminates in snarls of pain. Witnesses: Jonathan Swift of England and Ambrose Bierce of the United States. But scorn of the ugly is an absolute prerequisite in all

true comedy. That is why Aristophanes was a finer comic artist than Menander.

Where cheer is not present in proper proportion, comedy evokes wan smiles, what George Meredith foolishly calls "thoughtful laughter." Laughter may be crazy, fiery, sentimental, even tearful, but never thoughtful. The moment we begin to think we must stop laughing. On penalty of compelling his audience to thought the comic poet arrests the revolutions of his fools and fantasists. In the paramount comic writers, Aristophanes, Shakespeare, Molière, the merry-go-round hardly halts long enough to allow the reader or auditor time to draw a philosophic inference. Not until the last laugh is delivered can we attain the mental serenity necessary for syllogism and dialectic.

But none of our deductions, however parallel or precisely identical with the author's intellectual intentions, will suffice to explain his art's vivacity. The real moral of real comedy is—*In vino veritas*.

NOTES

¹ *Deipnosophistae*, 1.23.

² *Poetics*, 4.

³ A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy* (Oxford, 1927), 281-282.

⁴ *The Origin of Attic Comedy* (London, 1914).

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF LINGUISTS

The editorial office has received a circular announcing the Sixth International Congress of Linguists (*VI^{ème} Congrès International de Linguistes*), which is to be held in Paris, July 19-24, 1948. This is the first such meeting since the Fifth Congress, opening in Brussels in August, 1939, was interrupted by the war.

It has been decided to devote the primary attention of the Congress to the problem of general morphology, which is to be considered in terms of four questions: (1) Are there categories common to all languages which afford a structural classification of languages? (2) What are the relationships of unity or independence between the phonetic and the grammatical structure of a language? (3) Is there a universally valid definition of the respective domains of morphology and syntax? (4) How does the morphology of one language influence that of another? Furthermore the Congress will deal with problems of international organization with regard to linguistic terminology, research, and statistics.

The General Secretary of the Congress is Michel Lejeune, 36, rue Chardon-Lagache, Paris—XVI^{ème}.

We See By the Papers

We urge all our readers to appoint themselves special clipping bureaus for this department, and to forward material to us suitably marked with the name of the periodical and the date of issue. If an item appears in a magazine that you do not wish to clip, send us the gist of the material on a penny postcard!—The Editors.

THE QUESTION of what education is or ought to be constantly recurs among the items which our readers send in. From Lt. Col. S. G. Brady of Asheville, N. C., comes an article by Bernard Iddings Bell, "We Lack Leadership—Is Education at Fault?" from the Magazine section of the New York Times of January 18. While it is not an article about the Classics, it touches the very heart of the Classical discipline, insisting that the leadership needed must be founded upon an understanding of man deeper than scientific knowledge of his material environment. Our education does not provide this leadership, the author says, because the demand is not sufficient; it further obscures the issue by cultivating mediocrity under the pretense of being democratic. Training in the liberal arts, humanistic studies, and religion for a select, intelligent few, is envisaged as the best hope for our age, and this vision is found realized, with varying degrees and emphases, in revolutionary reforms at the University of Chicago and St. John's College and in the traditionalism in Catholic and Lutheran institutions of higher learning. (For further discussion of curriculum see "Lanx Satura" in this issue.)

WITH REGARD to this problem of what to teach, the SATURDAY EVENING POST of February 14 presents an editorial "Must I Take This Course?" by Paul Jones (sent us by Professor William M. Seaman of Michigan State College), which merely implies that the important problem of determining the curriculum may safely be left in the lap of the teachers. The student in ancient Persia is imagined as questioning the traditional requirement that he be able to ride, handle a bow and arrow, and speak the truth.—"Why do I have to take this course in truth-telling? What

good will it do me? Xerxes doesn't know what truth is, and he seems to get along all right."

IN THE LETTER in which the above editorial was enclosed, Professor Seaman writes: "Also in this issue of the SATURDAY POST there is a full page ad for the Ford Motor Company, which has several color photos of Italy. I have written to Ford about the caption on the arch of Constantine, which reads, 'A Latin textbook was as close as we'd ever come to the Arch of Augustus.' The ad also has a picture of Chamonix, with the caption 'Remember Hannibal? Well, he never crossed the Alps with a 100 horsepower V-8 engine like we did.' The Ford ad no doubt will find its way into the notebooks of many high-school students whose Latin textbooks will put them straight on the arch. Let's hope those students will know better than to say 'like we did.'"

STILL ANOTHER ITEM from Professor Seaman is the column "Good Morning" by Malcolm W. Bin-gay in the Detroit FREE PRESS February 5. After discrediting the pretense of celebrities that they dislike autograph hunters, the writer says, "There was never a time since the alphabet was invented by the Phoenicians that there were not autograph fiends." He refers to autograph collections of Cicero, Pliny, and Pompeius Secundus.

WITHOUT SOME PROVISION for reproducing cartoons, we don't know how to do justice to some of the more amusing contributions that are sent us. We received from Professor Jotham Johnson of New York University two half pages of drawings by the Pittsburgh POST-GAZETTE's cartoonist Cy Hungerford (January 26 and 29) recording a recent stay in Greece. Scenes and faces in modern Athens are interspersed with views of ruins and bits of the Greek alphabet here and there. Rev. Lloyd R. Burrus, S.J., of the University of San Francisco, sent in a cartoon from the San Francisco CHRONICLE of January 17. Two little dogs register frustration before the sign "No animals allowed" in front of the Elite Restaurant (presumably operated by a Greek) while a self-assured centaur, with hat and cigar, enters boldly. Ripley's feature "Believe It or Not" (St. Louis POST-DISPATCH, January 30) presents Commodus as the

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 406

The search for the common denominator
With and without a laboratory

Atomic Theories— Ancient and Modern

Arthur Frederick Stocker

A MODERN WRITER on the history of science, Professor Henry Crew, has stated that only two methods of investigation of phenomena were known to the ancients: the philosophical method and the mathematical. To Galileo, in modern times, he ascribes the development of a third, the experimental method, which is that of what we call science today.¹ It may perhaps be felt, with Burnet,² that the experimental method was not quite so foreign to the ancients as Professor Crew would have us believe. As early as the fifth century B.C., Empedocles of Agrigentum demonstrated the corporeality of atmospheric air by a perfectly respectable "experiment" with the water-clock,³ and no one would deny that the methods of the writers of the Hippocratic corpus were at least empirical. Moreover, there may be a tendency to exaggerate the difference between observing and studying, as the Greeks did, phenomena which Nature was constantly exhibiting *sua sponte* before their eyes and, on the other hand, dealing in precisely the same way with phenomena artificially induced in a laboratory. At the very least it is but reasonable to expect that both science and philosophy should in their infancy have invoked the testimony of Nature

freely volunteered before putting her on the rack, as it were, and extorting further witness from her under the controlled conditions of the laboratory. Withal, however, essential validity must be conceded to the distinction drawn by Professor Crew. Ancient science was generally content to observe what happened and to make intelligent deductions as to what this meant in terms of causation, *modus operandi*, and ultimate effect without putting its conclusions to the test of even such simple experiments as a technically ingenious age might have devised.

This being the case, it is astonishing to find present in Greek scientific thought as early as the fifth century B.C. a theory of the composition of the universe at which modern science arrived less than a hundred and fifty years ago and which now constitutes one of its most esoteric doctrines, viz., that matter, despite its superficially continuous appearance, is in fact made up of minute particles, called atoms, the nature and behavior of which, though they are forever invisible, can at least with considerable assurance be inferred. How, it may be asked, did such similar conceptions happen to arise, almost independently, in such different times and intellectual climates? Were the atoms of old and the atoms which lurk, sinister, behind the guarded portals of Oak Ridge and Los Alamos, really the same thing? What validity did an "atomic theory" hold for a pre-laboratory age?

The ancient theory, credited to Leucippus (fl. 430 B.C.), developed by Democritus (fl. 420 B.C.), and given fullest expression by Epicurus (ca. 341-271 B.C.)⁴ and his mighty Roman apostle, Lucretius, was not, be it emphasized, merely a happy fancy, like one of Mother

(This article is a slightly revised form of a paper read before the southern section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, meeting at Birmingham, Alabama, on November 27-28-29, 1947. The author makes grateful acknowledgment to Dr. Frederick L. Brown, professor of Physics at the University of Virginia, for suggestions given during the preparation of this paper.

Arthur F. Stocker is Assistant Professor of Ancient Languages at the University of Virginia.

Shipton's prophecies which the course of subsequent events quite fortuitously proved to be substantially correct. Rather it was a closely reasoned deduction from observed phenomena of Nature. Leucippus and Democritus postulated the existence of atoms for precisely the same reason as we do: because they needed them to explain the nature and behavior of things that they saw. They differed from modern scientists mainly in that they were content, largely perforce, with less searching observation than we know how to achieve in cavernous laboratories with toil-somely developed techniques of research and that they lacked the background which we enjoy of two thousand years of scientific progress.

Monists and Pluralists

FOR ABOUT A HUNDRED and fifty years before the time of Leucippus and Democritus, philosopher-scientists—men who were dissatisfied with ancient myths and legends and cosmogonies—had been speculating about the nature of the physical universe. On the one hand, it was clearly dynamic. It changed from one minute to the next. Probably it was this quality about it which first aroused the interest of primitive men. A child manifests no particular curiosity about a chair or a table, but he is fascinated by a cuckoo clock. On the other hand, there was an obvious stability about it, too. Trees sprouted, burgeoned, and died, but the forest always remained. Most of the ancient philosopher-scientists fell into one or the other of two camps, differentiated by the attitude they took toward these contradictory attributes of the universe. Some, and in general the earliest, felt that stability was its more fundamental quality. To explain it they built upon the feeling which has been traced far back into the primitive consciousness of men,⁵ that behind the almost infinite variety displayed in the visible world there must be some common denominator from which the many different and variable things of experience might be derived, and postulated the existence of some One underlying reality of which these things would in fact be but different manifestations. Others regarded

change as the more basic quality of the universe, and permanence as essentially adventitious. Members of the former school have been termed Monists, and of the latter, Pluralists.

Neither, as it turned out, had an altogether satisfactory explanation for the way in which the universe simultaneously exhibited the phenomena of permanence and variability. The Monists failed to evolve a convincing hypothesis which would account for the Protean transformation of any substance which had been suggested as the One—Water, Air, Fire, or even the undefined "Boundless" of Anaximander—into so many things unlike itself. The relentless logic of Parmenides of Elea⁶ all unwittingly reduced the Monist position to a scientific absurdity, for if (as Parmenides maintained) it was impossible to conceive of an *It is not* and the *It is not* did not really exist, anomalous conclusions were inescapable: everything being really One, the One must be everywhere; there could be no such thing as void, for if it existed it would be but a form of the One; the universe, then, must consist of matter close-packed, i.e., must be a corporeal *plenum*, in which coming into being and ceasing to exist, change, and even motion were inconceivable, and therefore did not really take place, but were the products of false opinion.⁷

The Pluralist position was hardly less vulnerable. Empedocles of Agrigentum defended the thesis that fundamental reality consisted not of One thing but of four—four "elements," Earth, Air, Fire, and Water—which, actuated by the contrasting principles of Love and Strife, formed shifting compounds to become the various and variable things we see. But visible Earth, Air, Fire, and Water are well known to us by experience and are not imperishable at all. Rather they are, as Lucretius states it, *mollia . . . , quae nos nativa videmus et mortali cum corpore funditus*.⁸ In combination, they may actually be mutually destructive, as Water is to Fire. There was little plausibility in supposing that these frail substances comprised the primordial matter on which the permanence of the universe rested. Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, at the ex-

treme of Pluralism, seems to have denied the existence of any primary substance or substances less heterogeneous in character than the multitude of prehensible things. Reality consisted for him of an infinite number of small particles, infinitely different from one another—particles corresponding in nature to every kind of corporeal thing—and yet infinitely complex—each particle continuing through endless subdivision to consist not only of that substance which it appeared to be but in lesser proportions of traces of everything else.⁹ At the most, these particles, identical in substance with the transient things of appearance and infinitely divisible, could not be regarded as any more fundamental or any more “permanent” than their visible counterparts.

Reconciliation of One and Many

THE ANCIENT ATOMIC theory achieved a brilliant reconciliation between Monism (which, whatever its difficulties, did provide a sure basis for permanence) and Pluralism (which accounted readily for change). It was supported by incontrovertible evidence, such as that which Lucretius adduces,¹⁰ to show that there actually are bodies, too small to come within the field of vision, but undeniably bodies. Briefly, the theory ran as follows. Matter, the underlying reality, was in the strict sense what Parmenides and the other Monists had always said that it was: of one substance¹¹ and an indestructible physical *plenum*. But there was not just one such *plenum*, coextensive with the universe, but an infinite number of them, each individually too small to be perceptible by the senses, and separated from one another by something which, while not *real* (in the German sense), nevertheless had an existence as true as their own, to wit, empty space.¹² Each had all the attributes of the Parmenidean *plenum*: it was absolutely solid (pure matter, with no component of empty space); it was indivisible (*atomos*); and it was indestructible.¹³ All were in constant motion through space.¹⁴ There was nothing to regulate this cosmic traffic. Ceaseless motion produced an endless succession of collisions. While all *atomoi* were of one

substance, they might differ from one another in two respects: in shape and in size.¹⁵ Upon collision, therefore, some would carom off from one another and go separate ways, like billiard balls; others would become entangled with one another and form atomic compounds.¹⁶

Atomic compounds differed from each other in accordance with the shape and size of their component atoms (as the letter A differs from the letter N), with the arrangement of the atoms (as AN is a different combination from NA), and with the position of the atoms (as an upright H is different from a prostrate one).¹⁷ The infinite variety among visible things was accounted for by differences of these three kinds. Coming into being was simply the development of an atomic compound to such proportions that it became a perceptible thing; ceasing to exist was the dissolution of such a compound.¹⁸ Since space was assumed to be infinite in extent and atoms were assumed to be infinite in number¹⁹ and, if not infinitely, at least immeasurably diverse in respect to their own characteristic qualities of shape and size,²⁰ there was practically no limit to the number of possible combinations that might arise or to the number of patterns of motion that might ensue from successive collisions. Some atomic systems might become very large, large enough to comprise the whole world we live in—the earth and the heavenly bodies with which it was thought to be surrounded.²¹ Within systems, however, no atom ever lost its identity or underwent the slightest change in either of the two qualities which distinguished it from others, to wit, in shape or in size. There were no creased fenders in the cosmic traffic jam. Nor did any atom ever assume a position of rest, even relatively to the other atoms in the same system. There was constant motion within the circumscribed sphere.²²

“Up” and “Down”

THE THEORY UNDERWENT minor modifications in the hands of its successive proponents. Most of these were in the nature of refinements in its application to specific phenomena. At least one was scientifically un-

fortunate, probably the introduction and certainly the sanctification by Epicurus of the notion that atoms acquired their original motion by reason of their weight and consequently that its direction was naturally downward.²³ Epicurus does not seem to have stopped to consider that in infinite space there could be no "up" or "down." He did realize, however, as comparatively few other people before Galileo did, that in empty space all atoms would fall at the same rate of speed, regardless of their weight.²⁴ In the absence of other factors, therefore, they would never collide, all falling along parallel lines at a uniform rate of speed. A cosmos composed of atoms moving only in this way might as well be at rest—indeed, the atoms would be at rest relatively to each other—and Epicurus found it scientifically, as well as philosophically, convenient to postulate the famous *clinamen*, a spontaneous swerve made unpredictably by the individual atom to get it out of its vertical track and bring it into collision with one of its neighbors.²⁵ Each collision would jar another atom out of its course and impel it toward collision with some third atom. Since colliding atoms were conceived as behaving like billiard balls, an unlimited variety of motion within the atomic down-pour was assured; in an infinity of time the Epicurean cosmos could be expected to become quite as kaleidoscopic as the Leucippian. The two would, in fact, be entirely indistinguishable, and Epicurus was able to achieve his philosophic purpose of providing a basis for the existence of free-will without altering the aspect of the material universe, which consisted, as always, of atoms moving every which way with reference to each other.

In all periods of ancient atomism, the fundamental reality consisted of discrete matter, of unvarying substance, in a state of everlasting agitation. A modern physicist might phrase it thus: "of particles of matter endowed with energy."

In the hands of Epicurus and Lucretius the atomic theory became an integral part of the Epicurean philosophical system, compounded of hedonism, uncompromising materialism, and denial of divine providence. Through

keeping such company it fell into disrepute with rival philosophical sects, such as the Stoics, and latterly with the Christian church, which entertained quite a different conception of the process of creation from that of a fortuitous confluence of aimlessly traveling atoms. Neither in antiquity nor in mediaeval times, therefore, did it win general acceptance,²⁶ nor did it attract serious attention from the scientists of dawning modern times, who were not ordinarily inclined to look toward the ancients for their inspiration. The present-day atomic theory, therefore, owes little to its ancient forebear.

The Laboratory Atom

IT WAS, in fact, an early nineteenth-century product of the chemistry laboratory and the physics laboratory. The contribution of the former lay in the establishment of three fundamental "laws" of matter—the law of definite proportions, the law of multiple proportion, and the law of reciprocal proportions—which exposed in detail the regularity with which definite weights of chemical elements enter into combination with each other to form chemical compounds.²⁷ From these laws, experimentally established, it was an easy step to the supposition that the actual participants in such combinations were many units of the combining elements, the requisite numbers of which had to be present in order that a complete and proper fusion might be effected. The physics laboratory, in which it had long been recognized that at least gases must be of discrete substance²⁸ to account for the phenomena of unlimited expansion, gave the model for these units, especially after the researches of John Dalton had indicated that the particles of different gases must be of different sizes and weights.²⁹ In the person of John Dalton the two lines of evidence intersect, and he is credited with the first clear statement of the modern atomic theory, in 1808: briefly, that each chemical element is made up of similar atoms of constant weight and that each chemical compound is formed by the union of atoms of different elements in some simple numerical ratio.³⁰

A point of contrast between the ancient

and the Daltonian theories at once suggests itself. Dalton's conception was devoid of all Monistic implications. The universe, as he saw it, was built not of one substance but of many, as many as there were chemical elements. It was, therefore, essentially Pluralistic. Otherwise, however, the atoms, the discrete particles of matter, were not unlike those of which Lucretius sang. Their most characteristic attribute was indestructibility; Dalton's particles deserved as much as Lucretius' to be called *atomoi*. Change meant to Dalton the same thing that it had meant to Lucretius: a realignment among the particles of matter resulting in the dissolution of old patterns and the creation of new ones. Wrote he:³¹

"Chemical analysis and synthesis go no farther than to the separation of particles one from another, and to their reunion. No new creation or destruction of matter is within the reach of chemical agency. We might as well attempt to introduce a new planet into the solar system, or to annihilate one already in existence, as to create or destroy a particle of hydrogen. All the changes we can produce, consist in separating particles that are in a state of cohesion or combination, and joining those that were previously at a distance."

Within the past fifty years, however, the Daltonian conception has been fundamentally modified. Evidence drawn from the study of electricity and from the behavior of radioactive substances has proved beyond peradventure that Dalton's atoms are not atoms at all, but have clearly defined components which under no very exceptional circumstances may be separated from each other.³² Not even mass itself has the indestructible quality which Lavoisier assigned to it, but is under certain circumstances interchangeable with energy in accordance with a definite mathematical equation: Energy (in ergs) equals Mass (in grams) times the Square of the Velocity of Light (in centimeters per second).

The "atom" is now conceived to have at its core a nucleus, exceedingly dense, embodying a minimum of 99.945 per cent of the mass of the atom. Withal, however, this nucleus is

extremely small: in diameter about one ten-thousandth the diameter of the whole atom. Around the nucleus, in something analogous to a solar system, are believed to move electrons, each with only 1/1840 the mass of the smallest (sc. hydrogen) atom. Each electron carries an identical negative charge of electricity. Atoms of the ninety-two recognized elements of the periodic system have successively one more electron revolving around their respective nuclei, from hydrogen with one to uranium with ninety-two. The distinctive chemical properties which the different elements exhibit are due in part to the number and arrangement of these electrons in something like successive shells. Within the nucleus, too, however, there is diversity. Atomic nuclei consist of two kinds of particles: protons and neutrons. Each proton bears a positive electrical charge equal to the negative charge of one electron, and as many protons are present in each nucleus as there are electrons revolving around it. Neutrons are identical with protons in substance and almost identical with them in weight, but they are without electrical charge.³³ They are found in the nuclei of all atoms except hydrogen, and in numbers sufficient to supply the discrepancy existing between the sum of the weight of the protons and electrons comprising the atom and its experimentally determined atomic weight.³⁴ To explain elusive phenomena of radiation, science has found it necessary to recognize other short-lived particles appearing on occasion within the atom, notably the positron and the neutrino. These, however, may be said to represent states of energy existing only under special circumstances, and not primary constituents of a normally-situated atom.

It will be seen, therefore, that the modern "atom" is quite different in character from the one the ancients believed in. It has clearly defined and separable parts, and under special circumstances the matter composing it may be completely destroyed in the process of being converted into energy. Unlike the intermediate Daltonian atom, however, it has an essentially Monistic nature. The matter at the core of all atoms, so long as it continues

to be matter, is homogeneous—the “nuclear fluid” of Professor George Gamow,³⁵ of which protons and neutrons alike are made. In atomic nuclei, indeed, we may find a close approximation to the “protyle” of the ancients—the “One” for which Thales, Anaximander, and the other Monists were always looking. The Pluralism of Dalton is as obsolete as the atomism of Leucippus. Finally, the modern “atom” behaves in compounds much as its ancient forebear did, most strikingly in its everlasting agitation.

NOTES

¹ Henry Crew, *The Rise of Modern Physics* (Baltimore, 1928) 109.

² John Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* (London, 1945) 27.

³ *Ibid.*, 229. Empedocles' own account of the experiment is contained in frg. 100, H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin, 1934).

⁴ Dates as given by Cyril Bailey, *The Greek Atomists and Epicurus* (Oxford, 1928) 66, 109, 221-227.

⁵ B. A. G. Fuller, *History of Greek Philosophy*, Vol. 1 (New York, 1923) 84-85.

⁶ Especially frg. 8, Diels, *op. cit.* (see note 3).

⁷ The conception of a plenum, however, is not an altogether discredited one in modern science. The late Sir Oliver Lodge, in a signed article appearing under the title, “Ether,” in the latest (1946) edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, argues that what is commonly known as “space” is endowed with such physical properties as to require that it be regarded as something more than a mere geometrical abstraction. For example, it transmits “waves” of light, and it is hard to see how there can be waves without some medium capable of undulating. Sir Oliver would assume that “space” is filled with an entity to which he assigns the historic name of “ether” and which he describes in quite Eleatic terms as “the one omnipresent physical reality,” something of which perhaps “everything in the material universe consists, matter itself being in all probability one of its modifications.” It has been countered, however, that the establishment of the quantum theory obviates the necessity for postulating the existence of ether as anything like a substantial thing (Banesh Hoffman, *The Strange Story of the Quantum*, [New York, 1947] 32-33).

⁸ *De Rer. Nat.* 1.754-755.

⁹ For a detailed discussion of the theory of Anaxa-

goras and the views which have been held concerning it, see Bailey, *op. cit.* (see note 4), Appendix I, 537-556.

¹⁰ *De Rer. Nat.* 1.265-328.

¹¹ Arist. *De Caelo* 275b 32.

¹² Arist. *De Gen. et Corr.* 325a 23.

¹³ *Simpl., De Caelo* 242.18.

¹⁴ See Bailey, *op. cit.* (see note 4) 82-87.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 80-82, 126-128, 284-289.

¹⁶ *Simpl., De Caelo* 242.20.

¹⁷ Arist. *Metaphys.* 985b 13.

¹⁸ Arist. *De Gen. et Corr.* 325a 31.

¹⁹ *Aet.* 1, 18, 3 (D. 316).

²⁰ See note 15.

²¹ Diog. Laert. 9.30.

²² Arist. *De Caelo* 303a 7.

²³ See Bailey, *op. cit.* (see note 4) 310-316.

²⁴ *Letter to Herodotus* 61.

²⁵ See Bailey, *op. cit.* (see note 4) 316-327. No elaboration on the swerve has come down to us in Epicurus' own words. The tradition is entirely clear, however, in ascribing the doctrine to him. For a full account of the swerve see Lucr., *De Rer. Nat.* 2.216-293. It is tempting to compare the unpredictable and unaccountable swerve postulated by Epicurus with the view of modern science that sub-atomic particles do not behave with entire regularity, but unpredictably in accordance only with statistical probabilities. For a popular discussion of this principle of indeterminacy, see Banesh Hoffmann, *op. cit.* (see note 7) ch. XIII.

²⁶ For an account of the attitudes of later ages toward the Epicureanism expounded by Lucretius see G. D. Hadzits, *Lucretius and His Influence* (New York, 1935) chs. IX-XII.

²⁷ See Crew, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 220-222.

²⁸ E.g., see Sir Isaac Newton, *Principia*, Book II, ch. v, especially theorem XVIII.

²⁹ See Crew, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 222-226. Further details may be found in Henry E. Roscoe and Arthur Harden, *A New View of the Origin of Dalton's Atomic Theory* (London, 1896) ch. I.

³⁰ Crew, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 226.

³¹ *A New System of Chemical Philosophy* (Manchester, 1808), as quoted by Crew, *op. cit.* (see note 1) 224.

³² A readable account of the development of this understanding is given by Selig Hecht, *Explaining the Atom* (New York, 1947) 35-105.

³³ Professor George Gamow has suggested “nucleon” as a comprehensive term for both protons and neutrons (*Atomic Energy in Cosmic and Human Life* [New York, 1947] 21).

³⁴ No such discrepancy exists in the case of the ordinary hydrogen atom, which consists of one proton (serving as the nucleus) and one electron.

³⁵ *Op. cit.* (see note 33) 28.

ATLANTIC STATES

The Spring meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States will be held at the University of Pittsburgh on April 23 and 24, 1948 (Friday-Saturday). Headquarters will be at the Hotel Schenley.

The Romans learned the knack of describing an entire historical event within the tiny field of a coin. Can you do this with modern history?



Coin Types and Roman Politics

Laura B. Voelkel

TOO MANY STUDENTS, both in high school and college, read the military reports of C. Julius Caesar and the shrewd declamations of Marcus Tullius Cicero with little knowledge of the historical and cultural background which fostered such men. Latin to these students is a dead language, and as such it is studied in a vacuum, despite the valiant efforts on the part of every teacher of the subject, plus the cooperation of colleagues in English, history and other fields. Students must be taught to visualize the life of the first century B.C. at Rome and to consider these Romans as human beings who ate and drank, and played and lived, as well as wrote.

The use of visual aids in the teaching of the Classics has recently received long overdue encouragement.¹ More and more teachers are realizing the value of a few good pictures. Even greater is the overwhelming reception given to some small object from classical antiquity, no matter how small and worthless it may be. A bit of a jar which some Athenian maiden broke while lowering it into a well, a tiny lamp which may have been the property of some little girl's doll, or a coin that jangled in the purse of a Roman merchant, can immediately, almost magically, transform the attitude of the students from indifference to interest and understanding.

Few Americans have not, at some time, had a stamp collection, no matter how small, and even those of us who are not philatelists cannot help but notice and comment on the issue of some new "commemorative," or some other difference in design or color on the usual gummed seal. The Romans, I am sure, would have delighted in the creation of these designs, just as they would have revelled in the possibilities of photography. As a race

the Romans had a strong commemorative spirit and also one which sought in art not so much the less tangible esthetic qualities, but the coldly realistic facts and forms. A combination of both of these qualities can be found on the types or designs which the Romans used on their coins.

The creation of an independent coinage came relatively late in the history of the Roman republic. In their early commercial dealings the Romans either used the barter system or borrowed the drachms and staters of Greek states. When a Roman mint was finally established, neither the standards nor the coin types were derived from Greek models. After several experimental issues in heavy bronze, the Romans, in the late third or early second century B.C.,² produced a silver coin called the denarius which in time became the standard monetary unit of the western world. The ghost of this word even today haunts the coinage of England where the abbreviation 'd.' for the British penny is the first letter of the word 'denarius.' In the last century of the Roman republic the denarius was a silver disc, about the size of an American nickel, but with more detailed and often highly-raised modelling. Because of the primitive manual methods of minting it lacked the uniformity of size and centering demanded of modern coins.

On the reverse, or "tails," of denarii of the late republic are found scenes which commemorate and comment on many historical events of contemporary and earlier times. The choice of these types was apparently entrusted to the members of an annually-elected board of three. Since the office of triumvir of the mint was one of the more than twenty positions which young Romans could hold in

order to fulfill the prerequisite of a year at a minor civil post prior to their entrance into the regular offices of the *cursus honorum*, the men who held this job were usually young, but often of noted families. These individual moneyers were allowed to put their names on the coins and a whole parade of otherwise unknown contemporaries of Cicero and Caesar emerge from coin inscriptions.

Again, special issues of coins were sometimes decreed by the Roman senate, which appointed certain magistrates, whose names and titles appear on the coins, to supervise the minting. Roman generals in the field could strike coins in their own name or in the names of their legates by virtue of the right of *imperium*. When Augustus finally took over control of all gold and silver coinage, he relied upon this power of a military commander.

"Heads"

WHEN THE DENARIUS was first issued a head of the goddess Roma occupied the obverse, or "heads" of the coin, while the two figures on horseback on the reverse probably represent the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. Only gradually were innovations introduced. At first, the young moneyers cautiously substituted, for the reverse type, scenes which related to some deed of a famous ancestor, or to the mythological and divine progenitors of their families. Later, the magistrates in charge of special issues created types which referred to their own achievements. The famous military leaders of the last half of the first century B.C., such as Pompey, Caesar, Anthony and others, further encouraged the use of coin types which celebrated personal accomplishments.

When the government of Rome shifted from a republican form to an imperial one, it was an easy transition for the designers of the coin types. Although the office of triumvir of the mint persisted as late as the third century of our era, there are no official coins from the mint at Rome with the names of individual moneyers after 3 B.C. The "image and superscription" on the obverse of imperial coins was regularly that of the reigning em-

peror; the types on the reverse propagate his policies and glorify his achievements.

"Tails"

ALTHOUGH it is the reverse type which contains the more varied and interesting designs throughout the whole history of Roman coinage, the fine heads on the obverse of the coins attest the skill of the die engravers. The head of Roma remained as an obverse type for a number of years after the substitution of more personal scenes for the original reverse scene. Even when Roma did yield to other designs, almost invariably the head of another deity was used. The portrait of no living Roman is found on coins before 44 B.C., when the senate decreed that the head of Julius Caesar be placed on the coins of that year. Once established, this custom rapidly gained in popularity among the rival leaders who fought for power after Caesar's death. During the empire the portraits of the emperor or members of the imperial family, both living and deceased, are almost the sole occupants of the "heads" of Roman coins.

From the hundreds of coins which were issued in the century between 125 and 25 B.C. I have made a selection of eight which have types that are directly related to events discussed in Cicero or Caesar, or to the story of Rome's founding as told by Vergil and Livy. These coins offer nothing which is new to numismatic scholarship, but it is hoped that they may provide new inspirations to the teachers, and students, whose work in Classics and ancient history is concerned with the affairs of the Roman republic.

The types on these coins present contemporary commentaries on the events and beliefs of the Romans who minted and used them. It is not beyond the justifiable limits of our imagination to picture a Roman, pausing for a moment to talk with a shopkeeper or a friend about the type on a new coin which he has just received in change, in much the same way as we notice and remark about a shiny new cent or more rarely about a new coin such as the Roosevelt dime or the Franklin half-dollar. Students will also enjoy deciphering the legends on the coins. Although often

abbreviated, the words are usually clear and with a little imagination the entire name or phrase can be reconstructed.

All the coins illustrated in this article are from the collection of the American Numismatic Society in New York. Anyone who is interested in the actual purchase of a coin or coins should consult a reliable dealer. Good republican denarii are available at prices ranging from a few dollars for examples of the more plentiful types to several hundred dollars for extremely rare specimens. Such books as G. F. Hill's *Historical Roman Coins* (London, 1909) or H. Mattingly's *Roman Coins* (London, 1928) will offer many other interesting types to anyone who wishes to explore further the possibilities of this subject.

NOTES

¹ Mrs. Dorothy Burr Thompson, now at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N. J., is currently engaged in the assembling of visual aids and is planning to compile a list of materials which are available throughout the country. The value of such information to the inexperienced young instructor who is faced with a department completely devoid of illustrative material cannot be estimated, but every teacher of Classics and ancient history will welcome its service.

² The problem of the date of the first Roman denarius is a contested numismatic question which is beyond the confines of this paper. The early date of 269/8 B.C., given in Pliny, more probably refers to the issue of the so-called Romano-Campanian silver coins, but whether the first denarius was not issued until nearly a century later in 187 B.C., as Mattingly and others believe, is quite another question. It is my personal belief that the first denarii were coined in Rome sometime in the latter part of the third century B.C.

COIN ONE. This coin was issued by a man named Sextus Pompeius Postulus, about 125 B.C. Although he may have been a relative of the man who later became famous as Pompey the Great, he is known only from these coins. He chose to celebrate the man whom he claimed as ancestor, the shepherd Faustulus, foster-father of Romulus and Remus. The entire story of that early legend is represented on the reverse type which shows the shepherd leaning on his staff at the left. His right hand is raised in a gesture of surprise as he spies the twins nursing from the wolf who regards them more savagely than benignly. Behind the wolf is the famous fig tree, the *figus ruminalis*, which was, according to tradition, moved to the Comitium where it was still to be seen in the days of Tacitus. Beneath the wolf can be distinguished most of the word ROMA, while an abbreviation of the moneyer's name SEX. PO. POSTLV appears around the top edge. On the obverse is the regular head of Roma, facing right, found on early denarii.



COIN TWO. This coin was a special issue authorized by a grain law proposed by the tribune Saturninus and passed by the senate in 100 B.C. L. Calpurnius Piso and Q. Servilius Caepio, the urban quaestors of the year, were appointed to enact the law although Piso had been one of its chief opponents. The obverse shows a head of Saturn, god of grain, in whose temple the official state treasury was located. A pun on the name Saturninus may also be implied. The names PISO and CAEPIO are clearly seen; the Q stands for QUAESTORES. The reverse type shows the quaestors seated on a subsellium, the official chair of office, which is flanked on either side by an ear of grain. The actual sale of grain at the government-subsidized prices is probably represented. Below is a legend, partly obliterated, (A)D. FRV. EMV./ (E)X S.C.: AD FRUMENTUM EMUNENDUM, EX SENATUS CONSULTO, "for the purchase of grain, according to the decree of the senate." This is the first Roman coin ever issued with a type which records a contemporary event.



COIN THREE. This coin was not struck by any official of the Roman mint, but by the rebel forces during the Social War, 91-88 B.C., when the confederation of Italian allies who had petitioned in vain for full citizenship finally resorted to open rebellion against Rome. The head on the obverse, facing left, is identified on other examples as *ITALIA* (instead of the *ROMA* of the official issues). The reverse shows a scene which represents an ancient Latin and Sabine ritual for taking an oath over the slaughter of a pig. Eight warriors point their swords towards the center where a tiny pig is held by a youth who kneels in front of a tall shaft, which is probably a military standard. This ritual had been represented on earlier Italian issues, but never before were more than two warriors shown. Vergil, in *Aeneid* 8.638 ff., records the sealing of a treaty by a similar ceremony. The numeral *III* beneath the scene is a mint mark, similar to the *S* and *D* found on U.S. coins from the mints of San Francisco and Denver.

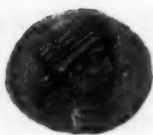


COIN FOUR. This coin was issued in 62 B.C. by a triumvir of the mint, Faustus Cornelius Sulla, son of the great dictator. Both types refer to the deeds of his father. On the obverse the bust of *Diana* recalls the special honor paid to that goddess at her temple in *Ephesus* by Sulla, while the reverse type reproduces the famous signet ring of the dictator, which recorded one of the earliest and most famous episodes in his military career. King *Bocchus* of *Mauretania* came as a suppliant to Sulla and offered to deliver to him *Jugurtha*, king of *Numidia* and leader of the forces then opposing Rome. On the coin *Bocchus* is kneeling at the left, holding the palm branch of peace, while the captive *Jugurtha*, hands bound behind his back, appears at the right. In the center of the scene on a raised platform Sulla himself is seated, facing *Bocchus*. The legend *FELIX*, "Happy," is a title which he assumed in 81 B.C., when he celebrated his lavish triumph over *Mithradates*.



COIN FIVE. This coin was probably issued in 47 B.C. by *Lollius Palikanus*, who may have been consul in 29 B.C. The head on the obverse is labelled *LIBERTATIS* while the reverse shows the *rostra*. Both types refer to the work of the moneyer's father in the restoration of the powers of the tribunes. The *rostra* was a raised platform which derived its name from *rostrum*, "ship's beak or prow." After the battle of *Antium* (modern *Anzio*) in 338 B.C. *C. Maelius*, the successful commander, carried to Rome the prows of the conquered ships and affixed them to the speaker's stand. The republican *rostra*, where *Cicero* delivered his third *Catilinarian* oration to the citizens who had assembled in the *comitium* or voting place, is represented on this coin. Its removal to the forum, planned by *Julius Caesar*, was not accomplished until 42 B.C. A bench similar to the one on which *Piso* and *Caepio* were sitting (cf. COIN FOUR above) stands on the top of the platform; the beaks of three ships are visible in the arches.





COIN SIX. This is a coin issued by Julius Caesar, as the legend on the reverse indicates. The head on the obverse has been identified as Pietas and the letters behind the head may record a date or even Caesar's age. On the reverse we have a clear picture of a military trophy which symbolizes Caesar's conquests in Gaul. In the center stands the trophy itself, a tree trunk or pole, dressed in the costume of a Gallic warrior, complete with horned helmet. From the right "arm" of the scarecrow-like figure hangs a long oval shield while a carnyx or military trumpet hangs from the left arm. At the right is an axe surmounted by an animal's head, probably another typically Gallic weapon. Caesar issued several series of coins upon his return to Rome in 49 B.C. Other varieties show a captive, who may be the famous Vercingetorix, kneeling at the foot of the trophy. We can imagine that the triumphant general actually set up trophies of Gallic arms similar to those illustrated on his coins.



COIN SEVEN. This historic coin was struck in the east in 43 B.C., nearly a year after the murder of Julius Caesar. One of Brutus' officers, Lucius Plaetorius Cestianus, issued the coins in his own and his general's name. The abbreviated forms L. PLAET. CEST./ BRVT. IMP. (Brutus, Imperator) appear on the obverse, around the head of Brutus, who is shown with a slight beard, the regular sign of mourning. The reverse type almost speaks for itself. The two daggers with their points downwards are distinguished by slight differences in the hilts. They doubtless represent the very weapons used by Brutus and Cassius when they stabbed Caesar to death, confident in the belief that they would be hailed by the Roman people as heroic tyrannicides. These blades flank a pileus or cap of Liberty, the symbol of freedom which slaves wore once a year on the festival of the Saturnalia and which was given to them upon their manumission. The type scarcely needs the legend EID. MAR., an abbreviation for Eidibus (Idibus) Martiis.



COIN EIGHT. The final selection for this history of the Roman republic as illustrated on coin types is a coin of Octavian, issued in 28 B.C. In the following year he was hailed as Augustus and, in spite of his declaration about the restoration of the republic, the beginning of the Roman empire is usually dated in 27 B.C. On the obverse is an excellent portrait which compares favorably with the sculptured likeness of the young leader. The legend reads simply CAESAR COS VI (consul for the sixth time). The reverse type commemorates the capture of Egypt by Octavian after his defeat of Anthony and Cleopatra in the battle of Actium, 31 B.C. A crocodile, symbol of the country on the Nile, advances to the right, while the legend AEGVPTO CAPTA, a good ablative absolute, records the fact in a phrase which no one can fail to understand. The wealthy province of Egypt was retained as a private domain of the imperial family and never became a regular division of the empire.

"WE SEE BY THE PAPERS"

Continued from Page 394

"emperor-gladiator" in the stance of a boxer, wearing the cestus and a laurel wreath, and states that he was paid \$180,000 for each appearance and fought 1,031 times.

A CARTOON from PUNCH, reprinted in the New York TIMES March 14, indulges in a sly British dig at the U. S. via antiquity. To Socrates in his death cell, surrounded by friends, the jailer brings the hemlock with the greeting: "Compliments of the Committee on Un-Athenian Activities, Socrates."

FROM THE PUNGENT "Topics of the Times" of the New York TIMES (January 26) come some remarks on the pitfalls of translation occasioned by the report from Lake Success that the Russian representative Andrei Gromyko had reversed his usual practice by praising a translation of a certain young American interpreter. The difficulty of Latin is exemplified by several choice gems from the classroom. "Aeneas, sedens, clavum regit" becomes "Aeneas, sitting on a nail, rages." "Omnibus repletis, Caesar ivit in Galliam summa diligentia" comes out "All the omnibuses being, full, Caesar went to Gaul on the top of a diligence." "O tempora, o mores!" is translated "What times, those of the Moors!" The United Nations interpreter is advised to remember the Italian proverb "Traduttore, traditore" if he would continue to please Mr. Gromyko.

COMMENTING ON the surprise and shock that Americans felt at the official reprimand which the Soviet government dealt a number of outstanding Russian composers, Dorothy Thompson wrote in her syndicated column (St. Louis POST-DISPATCH, February 18) that we simply fail to understand the nature of tyranny, which "can never allow anyone to rise above the dead level. . . . Practically all that can be said about tyranny was uttered 300 B.C. by a gentleman named Aristotle." Then Miss Thompson quotes from Aristotle at some length, to the effect that the successful tyrant must "guard against everything that gives rise to high spirits or mutual confidence, nor suffer the learned meetings of those who are at leisure to hold conversation with each other."

A REPORT from members of the Civil Affairs Division of the United States military government in Germany was presented in the book section of the (Washington, D. C.) SUNDAY STAR, February 8 and forwarded to us by Ruth O. Denning of Arlington, Virginia. It appears that the German penchant for what most Americans consider heavy reading lightens the task of these authorities, who are supposed to persuade the Germans to read serious non-fiction instead of contentious American novels which might reflect unfavorably in American morals. German publishers, while encouraged to publish German literary works, sometimes have to be dissuaded from wasting the scarce paper supply on material of doubtful general appeal. The informants cited specifically the case of one who wanted to print a dissertation on Phoenician archaeology. Mrs. Denning, who lives near Washington, sees "American Bureaucracy—whatever that means—running true to form."

A TOMB OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. discovered by Italian archaeologists excavating near Gela in Sicily has been tentatively identified as that of Aeschylus, according to an AP dispatch of February 9. Miss Isabelle Schwerdtmann, a graduate student at Washington University, clipped the item from the St. Louis STAR-TIMES; and from Professor Walter A. Jennrich of Concordia College, Milwaukee, we received a feature editorial on Aeschylus in the Milwaukee JOURNAL of February 25. The writer, Walter Montfried, presents the facts about the discovery, and the famous epitaph, whose original is being sought on the site. Then he gives a scholarly and fascinating account of the life and work of the "Father of Tragedy," with a critical evaluation of his place in world literature. The article is accompanied by a large photograph of the painting "Aeschylus Pursued by the Furies."

IT MIGHT ALMOST SEEM as if stage people and those who write about the stage were exhibiting an unusual interest in the Classics this season. Judith Anderson's performance of the *Medea* in New York, which was mentioned in this department in January and was the subject of *CJ's* frontis-

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 410

"Spake full well, in language quaint and olden,
One who dwelleth by the castled Rhine,
When he called the flowers, so blue and golden,
Stars that in earth's firmament do shine."

Longfellow, "Flowers."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Stars in Earth's Firmament

Emory E. Cochran

WE MAY ASSUME with reasonable certainty that man, even in prehistoric times, was impressed with the flowers, plants and trees of his environment. The story of creation, as recorded in *Genesis*, quotes God's first statement after separating the land from the water as: "Let the earth put forth grass, herbs yielding seed after their kind: and trees bearing fruit, wherein is the seed thereof, after their kind: and God saw that it was good."

Genuine appreciation of floral beauty, however, probably came after long ages of human development. Willard N. Clute, editor of *The American Botanist*, has pointed out that the word 'botany' is derived from Greek *boskein*, 'to eat' or 'to feed,' which to him "plainly shows what some of the earliest peoples thought of the study of plants."

About 2,500 years ago the Greek poetess Sappho, whom Plato called the tenth muse, christened the rose the queen of flowers. In art, architecture, history, literature and even in modern advertising there is admiring reference to the rose. Generation after generation of lovers have vowed that their love is "like a red, red rose." Male readers will all think of "Four Roses Whiskey"! (The ladies, of course, never heard of it!)

It is only within the last three or four hundred years that books have been devoted

to the description of flora. The Romans knew only a rudimentary system of classification, and often grouped plants on superficial grounds, which we are accustomed to regard as widely dissimilar. The Roman poets were not botanists and would have been unintelligible to their public, if they had been. Vergil was, perhaps, the keenest Latin observer, but his method was always literary and his conclusions were sometimes ambiguous, especially when he based his reasoning on translations of Theocritus. Vergil himself gives a word of warning when he says: "Praeterea genus haud unum, nec fortibus ulmis, nec salici, lotoque, neque Idaeis, cyparissis." (Moreover the species is not single, either of strong elms, or of willows, of the lotus tree, or of the Idaean cypresses. *Geor.* 2.83-84.)

The purpose of this paper is not to give a learned analysis of nomenclature, but rather to explain in simple language certain scientific names of flora derived from classical languages. Total unfamiliarity with technical names may lead to ludicrous mistakes, e.g. the man who heard Indian tobacco called Lobelia, named a taller species *high belia*. The plant was named Lobelia inflata from Matthias de Lobel, frequently known by the Latin name Lobelius (1538-1616), a Flemish botanist and physician to James the First of England. We are also reminded of the stable-man to whom a horse by the name of Ajax had been entrusted. The name had no special significance to him, so when another horse was added to the stable, he quickly gave him the appellation of Bjax!

Botanical names of plants, flowers, and trees are composed of Latin words, or of Greek words with Latin endings, rarely of

(Emory E. Cochran is a member of the faculty of Fort Hamilton High School in Brooklyn. He edits a weekly Latin publication, *Libelli*, and has written articles for the *Classical Outlook*, including one on bird names last year which corresponds to the present article on plant names. He has his A.M. from Columbia and his Ph.D. from New York University. He was formerly Professor of Latin and German at the University of Tulsa.)

words from other languages. They include generic and specific designations, that is, genus and species, and the generic name is always capitalized. For example, the oak genus is *Quercus*, the White Oak is *Quercus alba*. *Quercus*, *Betula*, *Alnus*, *Fraxinus* and *Fagus* are the ancient Latin names for the oaks, birches, alders, ashes and beeches, and survive in modern nomenclature. ('Floral' in this paper is used in its widest sense, pertaining to 'flora,' flowers, plants and trees.)

The generic name is always in the singular number and in the nominative case. The specific name may be an adjective, e.g. *Viola odorata*, Sweet Violet; a noun in apposition, e.g. *Allium cepa*, Onion (*allium* or *alium* was the ancient Latin word for garlic, commonly met with in the writings of Horace; *cepa* or *caepa* is Latin for onion); a noun in the genitive case, e.g. *Delphinium Ajacis*, Rocket Larkspur, literally *Delphinium of Ajax* (from Latin *delphinus*, 'dolphin,' alluding to the shape of the flower; some marks on the front of the united petals were fancied to read AIAI, i.e. Ajax).

Asa Gray, who made Cambridge the American center of botanical study and whose works on botany have been widely used since 1836, states that *Acer*, the scientific name for the maple, is Latinized from the Celtic word for hard. Pliny uses *acer*, *aceris*, n. (with a short a) for maple tree, yet many works on botany still state that *Acer* in the name for the maple has reference to its sharp leaves, although the Latin adjective *acer* has a long a.

The famous Swedish botanist Linnaeus (1707-1778) was the father of modern systematic botany. His monumental work *Species Plantarum*, published in 1753, is generally considered to be the first work to use the binomial system of nomenclature. Subsequent botanical congresses have made emendations and revisions of the Linnaean system. In addition to the names of genus and species, a varietal name, following the same rules as apply to the specific name, is sometimes found, e.g. the common Oxeye Daisy, often called Farmer's Curse, yet a great favorite with children and artists, is *Chrys-*

anthemum leucanthemum var. *pinnatifidum*, viz. a daisy belonging to the genus *Chrysanthemum* (Latin form for the Greek 'golden flower'), the species being *leucanthemum* (Latin form for the Greek 'white flower'), referring to the large white head, white rays from the golden disk, and the variety being *pinnatifidum*, Anglicized *pinnatifid*, i.e., with leaves pinnately cleft (Latin *pinnatus*, literally 'feathered,' but in botany applied to leaflets arranged on each side of a common petiole; Latin *findere*, 'to cleave').

Names of families are formed regularly by adding to the stem of an important included genus the nominative feminine plural adjective termination *-aceae* or *-eae* (with *plantae* understood), e.g. *Rosaceae*, the rose family, from *Rosa*, the rose genus; *Ranunculaceae*, from *Ranunculus*, the buttercup genus (Latin *ranunculus*, little frog, so called from the wet places where these flowers like to live, although some species are found even in open woods, in fields, or on roadside banks). There are a few cases of families not ending in *-aceae* or *-eae*, e.g. the *Compositae*, explained by the participial derivation—although no book I have consulted noted this.

FLORA WITH SCIENTIFIC NAMES LITERALLY EQUIVALENT TO THE COMMON NAME

Viola canina, Dog Violet; *Tilia argentea*, Silver Linden; *Linum perenne*, Perennial Flax; *Ulmus Americana*, American (or White) Elm. The following genera are chosen at random: *Avena*, oat; *Morus*, mulberry; *Aster*, aster (literally star); *Mentha*, mint; *Thymus*, thyme; *Piper*, pepper; *Lens*, lentil; *Cynoglossum* (Greek for Hound's Tongue) and *Helianthus* (Greek for Sunflower). One of Cicero's ancestors who is said to have had a pea-shaped wart on his face was nick-named Cicero, the designation of the chickpea genus in modern botany.

FLORA WITH NAMES CLEARLY DERIVED FROM LATIN OR GREEK BUT REQUIRING EXPLANATION FOR THE LAYMAN

Cimicifuga Americana, American Bugbane, is literally Bug-chaser, from *cimex*, -icis, m., 'bug,' and *fugare*, 'to drive away.' *Tussilago*, Coltsfoot, from Latin *tussis*, 'a cough,' for which the plant is a reputed remedy (cf. the modern cough rem-

edy *Pertussin*). *Nasturtium*, Watercress or Horseradish, from Latin *nasus tortus*, 'convulsed nose,' alluding to the pungent qualities. *Arenaria*, Sandwort, is so called since several species grow habitually in the sand (Latin *arena*). Pliny used the word *gossypium* (from the Arabic) for cotton, and the word is still used as a generic name: common cotton is *Gossypium herbaceum*, Linn. *Polygala*, Milkwort, is Greek for 'much milk,' from the notion that cows feeding on this plant gave an increased amount of milk. *Lactuca*, Lettuce, is from Latin *lac*, 'milk,' since it exudes a white juice. The genus *Cereus* of the *Cactus* family is probably derived from Latin *cera*, 'wax,' since the stem of certain species resembles a wax taper or candle. The *Anemone*, known also in English as *Anemone* or *Windflower*, is from the Greek and means 'shaken by the wind,' because it grows in windy places, or blossoms at the windy season. The genus *Lunaria*, commonly known as *Honesty* or *Satin Flower*, is derived from Latin *luna*, 'the moon,' from the silvery persistent partition of the pods. Asa Gray shows rare sly humor in commenting on the two species, *Lunaria annua* and *Lunaria rediviva*; he says of the former, known as *Common Honesty*: "cultivated in old-fashioned places," and of the latter, known as *Perennial Honesty*: "a much rarer European sort . . . seldom met with here."

The poetic name *Erigenia*, Harbinger of Spring, is literally Greek 'born in the spring.' *Habenaria*, Rein Orchis, from Latin *habena*, 'rein' or 'thong,' is so called from the shape of the lip of the corolla in some species. *Trifolium*, Clover or Trefoil, Latin 'three leaflets'; *Fragaria*, Strawberry, from *fraga*, the old Latin name of the strawberry, referring to its fragrance; *Saxifraga*, Saxifrage, literally 'rock-breaker,' from Latin *saxum*, 'rock,' and *frangere*, 'to break'; *Lagenaria*, bottle gourd, from Latin *lagena*, 'bottle'; *Citrullus*, Watermelon, Latin *citrus*, 'orange' or 'citron'; *Bellis*, Daisy, Latin *bellus*, 'pretty'; *Senecio*, Groundsel, from Latin *senex*, 'old man,' referring to the hoary hairs of many species; the genus *Nolana* is from Latin *nola*, 'little bell'; *Bittersweet* is *Solanum dulcamara*, Linn., from Latin *solanum*, 'Nightshade,' and *dulcamara* from *dulcis*, 'sweet,' and *amarus*, 'bitter.' *Gladiolus*, literally 'little sword,' is so called from the shape of the leaves.

MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

In the vicinity of ancient Athens there was a flower that faced the east when the sun was in the mid-morning sky, but gradually bent toward the west in the late afternoon. The Athenians

called it *Heliotrope*, 'turning to the sun,' and to explain this strange phenomenon there grew up a myth connected with the Sun-god, with whom the water-nymph *Clytie* unfortunately fell in love. Every day she would sit on the bank of her pool and watch *Phoebus'* fiery chariot as it crossed the sky. The love-sick nymph followed the sun until it disappeared in the flaming west, but the god showed no affection for her. Finally she went on a hunger strike. For nine days and nine nights she refused both food and water. At last the gods, out of pity for her, changed the nymph into a flower, a *Heliotrope*, so that she might always turn to watch the course of the sun.

The genus *Dionaea*, *Venus's Flytrap*, is derived from *Dione*, another name for *Aphrodite* or *Venus*. The species *Dionaea muscipula*, growing in North and South Carolina, is from *mus*, 'mouse,' -*cip*- from *capere*, 'to seize,' and the diminutive suffix -*ula*. The old Latin name of the European species of *Venus's Looking Glass* is *Speculum Veneris*, and the genus is *Specularia* (from Latin *speculum*, 'mirror'). *Artemisia*, Wormwood, from *Artemis*, the Greek *Diana*. *Atropa*, *Belladonna*, was named after one of the *Fates*. *Nymphaea*, *Water Lily*, is most appropriately dedicated to the water nymphs, and the *Water Lily* family is the *Nymphaeaceae*. The genus *Daphne* of the *Thymelaeaceae* family was named for the nymph transformed by *Apollo* into a laurel tree. Two other nymphs live on in floral nomenclature: *Arethusa* of the *Orchis* family, and *Amaryllis* of the *Amaryllis* family. *Lady's Slipper* or *Moccasin Flower* is *Cypripedium*, from *Cypria*, Greek for *Aphrodite*, and *podis*, Greek for shoe. The walnut family is the *Juglandaceae*, from the genus *Juglans*, 'walnut,' derived from *Jovis glans*, 'the nut of Jupiter.' The *Black Walnut* is *Juglans nigra*, Linn. The genus *Titanotherium* perpetuates the Titans with the addition of the Greek noun *therion*, 'beast'. *Vishnuthierium* is an unusual linguistic combination: *Vishnu*, a Hindu deity, and Greek *therion*. A wee anemone-like plant growing in Russia is burdened with the scientific name of *Kraschennikowia Maximowicziana*. Fortunately there are few such examples!

Aquilegia Canadensis, Wild Columbine, is a name familiar to all students of botany. In ancient Rome some one with a vivid imagination thought that the European counterpart of this five-spurred flower resembled five little doves perched together in a friendly manner on the edge of a dish; so he named the flower *columbina*, from Latin *columba*, 'dove.' The Roman legions of *Hadrian* probably introduced this Roman Columbine into Britain,

since in Anglo-Saxon days it was known as culfrewort, 'dove-plant.' It is still a matter of dispute as to how the Columbine got the generic name of *Aquilegia*. Some say that the name is derived from Latin *aquila*, 'eagle,' the five flower spurs suggesting the five curved spurs of the eagle's talons. Others claim that *Aquilegia* is derived from *aquilegus*, water-drawer, for the five petals are shaped like water-drawing pitchers. Connection of *Aquilegia* with *aqua*, 'water,' and *lego*, 'collect,' does not correspond to facts of nature, however: the graceful pitchers of the flower are held upside down so that no water could possibly collect there.

The genus *Paeonia*, *Peony*, was named after a Greek physician *Paeon* according to legend: When *Hercules* brought the three-headed watchdog of *Hades*, *Cerberus*, up to earth and dragged him back again, he accidentally wounded *Pluto* while struggling with the furious animal. *Pluto* called in young *Paeon*, pupil of *Aesculapius* and physician of the gods, in the hope that he could cure him quickly. *Aesculapius*, jealous at being slighted in this manner, gave *Paeon* poisonous herbs which quickly caused his death. *Pluto* was furious, but all he could do was to turn *Paeon's* body into the flower which we now call the *Peony*.

The *calendulas* of Southern Europe were the *marigolds* of ancient times. Since some species of *Calendulae* were blooming in each month of the year, it was appropriate that they should derive their name from *Kalendae*, the first day of the month. For a long time these flowers were known as 'gold flowers,' but they eventually became asso-

ciated with the name of the Virgin *Mary* and were known as *Mary's Gold*, from which we have the contracted form *Marigold*.

The *Hollyhock* that grew in your grandmother's garden belongs to the genus *Althaea*, a word of Greek origin meaning to heal, since it was used as an emollient. When the *Hollyhock* was introduced into England it was given the name of *hock-leaf*. (The leaves were used to reduce the swelling in the hock of a horse or in the ankle of a man, hock being the old Saxon word for heel.) In the course of time the name was changed to *holy-hock*, because it was said to have reached England from the Holy Land.

The genus *Tulipa*, *Tulip*, is not of classical origin, nor does it have anything to do with 'two lips.' It is a corruption of *tulbant*, the Turkish word for turban. The story of the flower goes back to Persia, where they called it *lalé*. It attracted little attention there, although some one remarked that it looked like a brightly-colored turban, Persian *dulband*, held upside-down. One merchant, however, was so attracted by the brilliant flowers that he had his caravan halt while passing through Persia, and ordered the camel-boys to dig up many bulbs, which he brought to Constantinople. The popularity of the tulip soon spread to other regions. The Turks used the Persian name *lalé* for the tulip, but when they explained to foreigners that it resembled a turban, Turkish *tulbant*, the foreigners mistook this word for the flower with the result that it became *tulipan*, later shortened to tulip.

(The second part of Dr. Cochran's article will be printed in our May issue—Ed.)

"WE SEE BY THE PAPERS"

Continued from Page 406

piece in the February issue, continues to receive generous praise from audiences and critics. In an article in the Milwaukee JOURNAL's magazine section February 25 Richard S. Davis, the JOURNAL's chief music and art critic, writes that he has "never witnessed a production of a classic that was given so much intensity—call it wallop if you like—as Miss Anderson puts into 'Medea.' It is actually a physically tiring experience to watch and hear this drama through to the end, so great is the playgoer's sympathy for the tragic heroine and so moved is he by the frenzy of the woman's hatred and the bitterness of her revenge." Another item from Professor Jennrich, which he culled from the JOURNAL of February 12, reports an interview given by the actor Thomas Mitchell, in which, speaking of his early training, he laments: "But why couldn't some of

those Mitchells have drilled Greek and Latin into my head? That's the lasting regret of my life, that I can't appreciate the old classical masters in the original. You miss so much in translation."

AND FROM Professor H. C. Montgomery of Miami University comes a note in the February ARTIST LIFE about the mezzo-soprano Cloe Elmo. As a schoolgirl in Italy, required to recite a long passage of Cicero or Vergil, she tried to cover up by stuttering. "But she couldn't fool the professor. 'If you can not speak it, sing it,' he ordered the unfortunate Cloe who, in a rich and beautiful voice, proceeded to pour forth more sound than sense."

W.C.S.

Richard Porson, celebrated scholar and toper,
more than an academic figure, more than an eccentric—

Even Classicists Are Odd

Part II

Solomon Katz

*The second in a series of three articles
on great Cambridge classical scholars.*

"WHO," says one of Professor Porson's biographers,²⁴ "would delve into the lives of great men must reconcile himself, to his pain or delight, as his temper may be, to finding therein amid much sublimity many laxities, nay positive obliquities of character. While such studies may therefore be condemned as tending to degrade tender minds, they possess an indubitable charm for those of sturdier composition who love to sit in blameless solitude and instruct themselves, by great examples, of the antinomies of the human spirit."

THAT THE LIFE of Richard Porson should inspire such philosophical reflections in his biographers is not surprising. For Porson, by general consent second only to Bentley among English classical scholars, was unfortunately one of England's most notorious victims of the Demon Rum. Unlike the ambitious and famous Bentley, Porson lived obscurely, known perhaps more for his epic thirst and phenomenal memory than for his scholarship. He was without ambition, and when he died at the age of 49 most of his scholarly projects were uncompleted. Yet the philological work he accomplished is of lasting merit, and Porson's reply to the query why he had written so little is likely to prove an understatement: "I doubt if I could produce any original work which would command the attention of posterity. I can be known only by my notes: and I am quite satisfied if three hundred years hence, it shall be said that 'one Porson lived towards the close of the 18th century, who did a good deal for the text of Euripides.'"²⁵

Richard Porson was born of humble parents in 1759.²⁶ From his early years he displayed great promise, and after receiving instruction in Latin and mathematics from the village clergyman, he was sent to Eton through the generosity of patrons who discerned his unusual abilities. At Eton, Porson began to give evidence of his extraordinary memory. Watson tells us:²⁷ "He was going up one day with the rest of his form, to say a lesson in Horace, but not being able to find his book at the time, took one which was thrust into his hand by another boy. He was called upon to construe, and went on with great accuracy, but the master observed that he did not seem to be looking at that part of the page in which the lesson was. He therefore took the book from his hand to examine it, and found it to be an English translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*." Without making any error Porson could translate from memory.

In 1778 Porson entered Bentley's old college, Trinity, as a pensioner, and two years later he was elected scholar. In 1781 he won the Craven Scholarship and in the next year, soon after taking his degree, he won the First Chancellor's Medal and was elected to a Trinity Fellowship. He had already shown his real interest in classical philology by emending Theocritus and Vergil. At Cambridge too he began to display a singular type of argumentation in philological discussions with his contemporaries. If the gossip of the biographers is to be credited, Porson frequently invoked force in the form of a poker as an aid to argument, a habit which persisted. Long after his undergraduate days Porson

became involved in an argument, probably philological, with the Reverend John Horne Tooke, the famous political reformer and philologist. Porson was asked to give a toast, and said: "I will give you the man who is just the reverse of John Horne Tooke." Tooke's reply was apparently malicious and Porson threatened to kick and cuff his host. "After exhibiting his own brawny chest, sinewy arms, and muscular legs to the best possible advantage, [Tooke] endeavored to evince the prudence of deciding the question as to strength by recurring to a different species of combat. Accordingly, setting aside the port and sherry, then before them, he ordered a couple of quarts of brandy; and by the time the second bottle was half-emptied, the Greek fell vanquished under the table. On this, the victor at this new species of Olympic game, taking hold of his antagonist's limbs in succession, exclaimed: 'This is the foot that was to have kicked, and the hand that was to have cuffed me'; and then, drinking one glass more to the speedy recovery of his prostrate adversary, ordered 'that great care should be taken of Mr. Professor Porson'; after which he withdrew to the adjacent apartment."²⁸

Porson's adversaries, however, were not always as fortunate as the Reverend Tooke, and if they did not feel the weight of his poker, they were certain to experience the lash of his tongue. Someone remarked to him after a heated argument, "Mr. Porson, my opinion of you is contemptible," and Porson's reply was, "I know no opinion of yours that is not contemptible."²⁹

Since Porson's official duties as Bachelor Fellow at Trinity College were not onerous, he was able to devote himself to research, and he began to be known in the world of scholarship. He made his first appearance in print in 1783 with a review of Schütz's *Aristophanes* and shortly afterwards he wrote a spirited review of Brunck's *Aristophanes*.³⁰ At the same time Porson carried on a learned correspondence with David Ruhnken of Leyden and celebrated in a quatrain his imaginary potations with these foreign scholars.³¹

I went to Strasburg, where I got drunk
With that most learned Professor, Brunck.
I went to Wortz, where I got more drunken
With that more learn'd Professor, Ruhnken.

Porson's first major work was his *Letters to Travis* (1788-89) in which he proved the spuriousness of the text on "the three that bear witness in heaven" (1 John V. 7), thus supporting an opinion which had long been held by critics from Erasmus to Bentley, and had recently been reaffirmed by Gibbon, whose views were attacked by the Reverend George Travis, archdeacon of Chester. Porson's *Letters to Travis* were not unnaturally esteemed by Gibbon, who regarded the work as "the most acute and accurate piece of criticism since the days of Bentley. Porson's strictures are founded in argument, enriched with learning and enlivened with wit, and his adversary neither deserves nor finds any quarter at his hands."³²

In 1790 Porson wrote the preface and notes to a new edition of Toup's *Emendations on Suidas*, and a few years later contributed the corrections to the folio edition of Aeschylus published by Foulis.³³ Porson began to publish his great edition of various plays of Euripides in 1797. It is a matter of deep regret that he did not finish this edition and that he did not live to edit either Aristophanes or Athenaeus, tasks for which he was preeminently qualified. In textual criticism Porson followed Bentley. He was a warm admirer of the great Master of Trinity and he used to say that when he was seventeen he thought he knew everything, but when he was twenty-four and had read Bentley, he realized that he knew nothing. It is recorded that he displayed an unusually generous emotion by shedding tears of joy when he discovered that some of his emendations of Aristophanes had been anticipated by Bentley.³⁴

Porson's most famous discovery was revealed in his second edition of *Hecuba*. There he wrote a dissertation on meters which contains a discussion of the laws of iambic, trochaic, and anapaestic verse, tragic and comic, and includes a formulation of "Porson's law," the "law of the final cretic," which forbids a pause in the fifth foot of an iambic senarius

after a long syllable. It may be noted that while Porson was engaged in the work of serious scholarship which gave such substantial results as "Porson's Law," he diverted himself by drinking, writing lampoons, and calligraphic exercises. He spent many hours perfecting his Greek script, which became a model for printers and was indeed adopted by the Cambridge Press in 1810 as the "Great Porson Greek" font and is still used today.³⁵

In July, 1792, Porson lost his fellowship at Trinity because of his unwillingness to take holy orders, but in November he was elected Regius Professor of Greek, the first layman since the sixteenth century to hold that office. Appointed professor of Greek, he gave no lectures and in fact for the greater part of the year he lived in London. Appointed principal librarian of The London Institution in 1806, he neglected his duties, and the directors were forced to write:³⁶ "We only know that you are our librarian by seeing your name attached to the receipts for your salary." Long since Porson had adopted those convivial habits which made him notorious.

Drunk or sober, Porson astonished his friends and acquaintances by his feats of memory. Conversation in his presence, whether it turned upon matters of learning or not, was always a danger, for he never failed either to correct his interlocutor from the inexhaustible stores of his memory or bore the company by his long recitations. There is an entertaining tale of the unhappy adventure of a young gentleman, fresh from Oxford, who, while in a hackney coach, dared to make a quotation from Greek in order to impress the ladies. Professor Porson, a stranger to him, had appeared to be asleep, but was roused at once by the temerity of the young man. Leaning forward, Porson said, "I think, young gentleman, you favored us just now with a quotation from Sophocles; I do not happen to recollect it there." "Oh, Sir," replied the hapless youth, "the quotation is word for word as I have repeated it, and in Sophocles too; but I suspect, sir, it is some time since you were at college." The professor, after fumbling for some time in his greatcoat, produced a small pocket edition of Sophocles, and asked the

young man to find the quotation. After some moments' unhappy turning of the pages, he was obliged to confess that he could not find it, and recalled on second thought that the passage was in Euripides. The frowning professor produced the plays of that poet for the young man's inspection, saying, "Then perhaps, sir, you will be so good as to find it for me in that little book." The young gentleman was by now thoroughly embarrassed, but, unwilling to give way in the presence of the ladies, exclaimed, "Bless me, sir, how dull I am; I recollect it now, yes, yes, I remember that the passage is in Aeschylus." The professor produced another book from his pocket. But the young gentleman had had enough of scholarship and cried, "Stop the coach, let me out, let me out, I say, there's a fellow here has got the Bodleian Library in his pocket; let me out, I say, let me out; he must be either the devil or Porson himself."³⁷

It is related that at one gathering Porson read a page or two of a book, and then repeated what he had read from memory. "That is very well," said one of the company, "but could the Professor repeat it backwards?" Porson began immediately to repeat it backwards, and failed in only two words. On another occasion Porson called on a friend who was reading Thucydides and wished to consult him on the meaning of a word. Hearing the word, Porson repeated the whole passage. His friend asked how he knew that the word occurred in that passage. Porson replied, "Because the word occurs only twice in Thucydides, once on the right hand, and once on the left. I observed on which side you looked and therefore knew the passage to which you referred."³⁸ A friend of Porson's once invited him to dine with him, and the professor, having come by mistake on Thursday instead of Friday, remained for dinner, and instead of leaving afterwards, stayed up that night drinking the remains of some half dozen bottles of wine and reading an Italian novel. At the dinner party the following night Porson gave a translation of the novel from memory, and though there were forty names mentioned in the story, he had forgotten only one of them. This annoyed him so

much that he started from the table, paced the floor for ten minutes and then suddenly exclaimed, "Eureka! the Count's name is Don Francesco Averani!"³⁹

There were, however, moments when Porson's memory failed him. Though he never forgot a quotation he would forget more mundane matters, for example, to eat. Once when a colleague invited him to dinner, Porson replied, "Thank you, no, I dined yesterday."

Very early Porson displayed that insobriety which was such a tribulation to his friends. Lord Byron said of him, "I have seen Sheridan drunk too with all the world; but his intoxication was that of Bacchus, and Porson's that of Silenus. . . . He was tolerated in this state among the young men for his talents, as the Turks think a madman inspired, and bear with him. He used to recite, or rather vomit, pages of all languages, and could hiccup Greek like a Helot; and certainly Sparta never shocked her children with a grosser exhibition than this man's intoxication."⁴⁰

Porson's potations were not only large, but indiscriminate, and we are told by one of his friends that he would rather drink ink than not drink at all. On one occasion Porson visited the painter Hoppner whose wife was at that time away and had prudently carried with her the key to the wine-closet. "During the evening Porson said, 'I am quite certain that Mrs. Hoppner keeps some nice bottle for her private drinking in her own bedroom; so, pray, try if you can lay your hands on it.' His host assured him that Mrs. Hoppner had no such secret stores; but Porson insisting that a search should be made, a bottle was at last discovered in the lady's apartment, to the surprise of Hoppner and the joy of Porson, who soon finished its contents, pronouncing it to be the best gin he had tasted for a long time. Next day Hoppner, somewhat out of temper, informed his wife that Porson had drunk every drop of her concealed dram. 'Drunk every drop of it,' cried she. 'My God, it was spirits of wine for the lamp!'"⁴¹

These stories, however, may be outrageous calumnies and Porson's tastes may have been

less exotic, perhaps described better in his own couplet:

When ale and wine are gone and spent,
Small beer is then most excellent.

Porson's appearance was soon disfigured by the visible sign and symbol of the drinking man, and witnesses tell us that he was notoriously careless about his dress. Hazlett describes his appearance, his rusty black coat hung with cobwebs and a large patch of coarse brown paper on his nose, while a friend was dumbfounded "by his fiery and volcanic face, and by his nose, on which he had a perpetual efflorescence, and which was covered with black patches; his clothes were shabby, his linen dirty."⁴² His appearance made him, as one wit said, "*Porsona non grata*."

On one occasion at least the professor made an impression of unusual neatness. One morning in 1795 Maltby met Porson, dressed in a pea-green coat, examining the books on a book-stall in Covent Garden. The two talked of books for a long time. Only later did Maltby discover that Porson had been married that morning. Marriage, however, meant little change in Porson's regimen and we are told that he spent the evening of his marriage with a learned friend, without saying a word about his marriage. When the hour came to leave the friend's house Porson repaired to his favorite tavern, the Cider Cellar, where he stayed until eight the next morning.

Early in 1808 Porson's rugged constitution began to weaken. He suffered from an apoplectic stroke and was able to speak and move only with difficulty; he still spoke Greek easily, but the effort to translate into English was too painful. "The truth is, so imbued was his mind with Grecian literature that he thought as well as spoke in that language, and found it much more easy at this time, from the power of habit and association, to pronounce Greek than to pronounce his mother tongue."⁴³ A few days later, after partaking of a glass of wine, he died. Porson, as his latest biographer writes, "should be remembered as a great scholar who knew Greek as few if any others have known it, and also as a man gifted with wit and character, something

more than a mere academic figure, and more than a mere eccentric."⁴⁴

(The third of Professor Katz's articles, on A. E. Housman, will appear in our May Issue—Ed.)

NOTES

²⁴ Morris Bishop, *A Gallery of Eccentrics*, New York, 1928, p. 227.

²⁵ William Maltby, *Porsonian* in Alexander Dyce, *Recollections of the Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers*, London, 1887, pp. 352-353.

²⁶ The standard biographies are J. S. Watson, *The Life of Richard Porson*, M.A., London, 1861, and M. L. Clarke, *Richard Porson*, Cambridge, 1937. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 424-430, is a brief sketch. A bibliography, including an incomplete list of Porson's writings, may be found in Clarke, pp. 123-127.

²⁷ Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²⁸ Alexander Stephens, *Memoirs of John Horne Tooke*, London, 1813, II, 315.

²⁹ Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

³⁰ Both reviews are reprinted in Thomas Kidd, *Tracts and Miscellaneous Criticisms of the Late Richard Porson*, Esq., London, 1815, pp. 4-37.

³¹ Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³² Edward Gibbon, *Autobiography*, London, 1896, p. 323.

³³ The edition appeared without the name of the editor and without notes, and Porson never assumed responsibility for it. See Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

³⁴ Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

³⁵ Clarke, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76 and facsimile of Porson's beautiful script opposite p. 76.

³⁶ Maltby, *Porsonian*, p. 356.

³⁷ Edith Sitwell, *The English Eccentrics*, Boston, 1933, p. 212.

³⁸ Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-296.

³⁹ P. L. Gordon, *Personal Memoirs*, London, 1830, I, 265-266.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Clarke, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

⁴¹ Maltby, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-321.

⁴² M. L. Clarke, *Greek Studies in England 1700-1830*, Cambridge, 1945, pp. 68-69.

⁴³ Quoted in Clarke, *Porson*, p. 84.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

—Liber Animalium

AVIS PUERIFERA

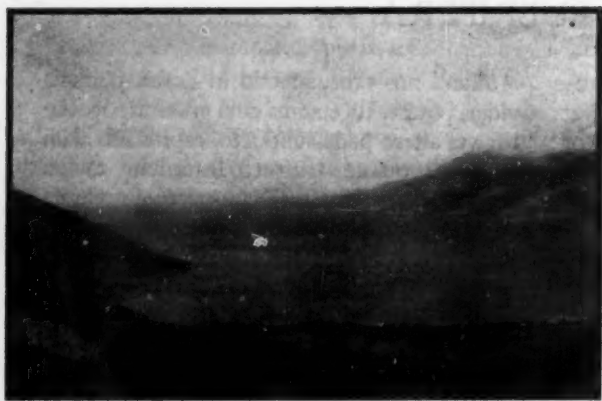
ROGATIUNCULAM propono quae sexaginta quattuor nummis digna est: Quenam avis omnibus Americanis bene cognita est, nusquam tamen citra oceanum Atlanticum gignitur? Grandis est, rostro longo rubroque, cruribus longis rubrisque, anulo circum oculos rubro, alis nigris, alibi alba. Ranis, serpentibus lacertisque vescitur. Aquam amat sed non natat. Amica hominum est atque aliquibus in terris reverentia habetur. Tanta quidem est haec reverentia ut nonnumquam in tecta domuum imponatur rota vetula ubi nidus lignis aridis aedificetur. Singuli nidantur sed tempore certo in agros congregantur ut longinquis in terris hiberna tepida petant. Tum, si fama vera est, quae ultima pervenit ab aliis foede laceratur. Noctu proficiscuntur, noctu redeunt neque quisquam vel abitum vel reditum vidit.

Apud nos tantummodo in hortis publicis videri potest. Ibi summa cum gravitate spatiantur vel altero pede subducto, capite sub alam reposito, quiete fruuntur. Interdum tamen rostro repente crepitans conspectum omnium ad se convertit. Romanis quidem id ioco erat quod sibi plaudere videbatur, amore sui affecta. Itaque mos erat, cum vir qui sibi nimis placebat secundum viam praeteriverat, digitis rostrum crepitans huius avis imitari. Quo facto adstantes risu tacito rumpebantur. Fabula etiam est virginis cuiusdam, Antigones nomine, quae propter crines pulchros deabus se aequam esse gloriabatur. Quam tandem Iuppiter iratus quo melius perpetuo sibi plauderet in formam huius avis permutavit. Potesne nominare?

ANON.



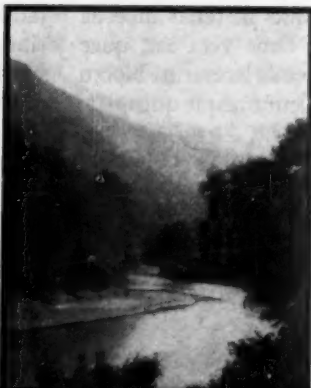
MT. PARNASSUS OF



As They T

THALASSA! THALASSA!
THE SEA! THE SEA!

The mountains, the valleys, the rivers,
and the seas of Greece are as Greek as
the masterworks of hand and mind that
time has spared to us. Here, in these
few pictures, we see something of what
the ancients saw, as they saw it long
ago in the land they knew as "Hellas."



HE V



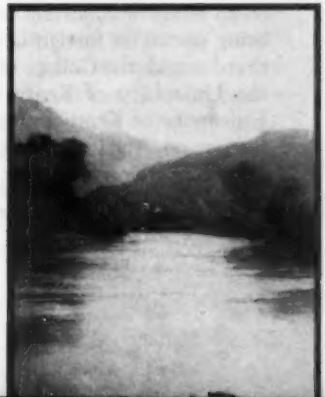
SSUN OF THE MUSES

hey Them

THE HILLS AND VALLEYS
(NEAR MT. ITHOME)



HE VALE OF TEMPE



Work of CEP To Go Forward

Described by one critic as "perhaps the most significant advance in Latin teaching in 300 years," the research projects of the Committee on Educational Policy of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South are to be subsidized by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. This important news has just been received by CJ from the chairman of the Committee, Miss Lenore Geweke.

The project, described in CJ's November 1947 issue, envisions the use of Vergil as the basic author in beginning Latin, rather than Caesar.

Before the new two-year terminal program is set up on an experimental basis, an exhaustive research program will be necessary. Thorough studies will be made of word and syntax frequencies in Vergil and other authors, with a view to determining the most effective means of presentation. A number of experts are already working on these problems; and the grant from the American Council of Learned Societies will be of very great value in ensuring their completion.

Further news will be published in our May issue; and readers of CJ will be kept informed of the progress of this highly significant educational project.

KENTUCKY CONFERENCE

To aid in implementing the needs of teachers on all levels of education in the emphasis that is being placed on foreign languages in an international world, the College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Kentucky is sponsoring the University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference on April 22-24, 1948, with Dr. Walter B. Agard, University of Wisconsin (Classical languages), Dr. Frederick B. Wahr, University of Michigan (Germanic languages), and Dr.

James B. Tharp, Ohio State University (Romance languages) as the lecturers. There will also be some fifty invited papers from several states. A special feature will be a high school principals' panel on "Foreign Languages in the Modern Secondary School." The theme of the conference will be "Foreign Languages for Enlightenment."

Not only foreign-language teachers but also principals and superintendents interested in the modern trends in foreign-language teaching are invited to attend. Professor Jonah W. D. Skiles, Department of Ancient Languages, is director of the conference, and Professor Adolph E. Bigge, Department of German, and Professor L. Hobart Ryland, Department of Romance Languages, are associate directors of the conference.

Programs may be had from Professor Jonah W. D. Skiles, Director of the Foreign Language Conference, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

LATIN INSTITUTE WILLIAM AND MARY

The Tenth Institute on the Teaching of Latin will be held this summer at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, from June 21 to July 10. The program of work will follow the same plan as that which has been so successfully pursued in previous summers. Emphasis will be laid upon the study of curricular problems and upon the practical application of methods to classroom procedures.

The demonstration class again this summer will be in charge of Gertrude J. Oppelt, Chairman of Foreign Language Department in the South Side High School, Fort Wayne, Indiana. A series of special illustrated lectures will be given during the second week by Jotham Johnson, Associate Professor of Classics in Washington Square College of Arts and Sciences in New York University and editor of *Archaeology*. He will discuss life in Greek and Roman cities.

The work will be directed as heretofore by Professor A. P. Wagener, who will be assisted by Professor George J. Ryan. The use of visual material will be emphasized in the afternoon workshop. As attendance is limited to approximately thirty, reservations should be made early. A special bulletin is available upon request. In addition to the Institute, courses in Elementary Greek and Greek civilization, and an advanced reading course in Roman Literature will be conducted during the regular summer term of nine weeks.

The Classics will be to each what he thinks.

Man: the Measure Of the Classics

Clyde Murley

IN THE CURRENT educational crisis, it will matter what the individual layman or Classicist accepts as Classicism. For, according to the dictum of Protagoras, as here adapted, it will be to each what he thinks.

THE AMBIGUITY of the word 'Humanities' has been well presented by B. L. Ullman, in an article in the *Journal of Higher Education*.¹ Does it mean the essence of the Classics as we know them in the original languages, with the impulse given to the Renaissance by their re-discovery? Or is the term a synonym for liberal arts very generally conceived, whereby survey courses and so-called divisions of the humanities present a certain amount of ancient material in which the Greek and Latin languages often figure not at all? It was not to Mr. Ullman's purpose to cite the use of 'Humanism' as a denial of divinity; but more ambiguity might enter even from that quarter.

Similarly, there are various meanings and implications of 'Classicism' and related words. To many it denotes an established type, conventional and severe, restrained as compared to Romanticism. We are sometimes told that the idea of progress was not recognized by the ancients in the larger social picture; that Plato or another would aim at a certain form conceived of as perfect, from which there should be no later deviation and into which innovation should never enter. We Classicists are accused of being hostile to anything new

in education; we ought to see to it, individually, that the charge is not justified.

We have two periods in the history of English literature called respectively Classical and Romantic. Yet surely Beowulf, Chaucer (despite, or because of, the Renaissance influence stemming from the Classics), and Spenser are in their various ways romantic. The period of Shakespeare, marked by discovery and adventure, is romantic. If Classicism stands for restraint, Cromwell and Milton belong there; but of course Milton, steeped in Greek and Latin mythology and syntax, is a Classicist in quite another sense also. The period of the Restoration, as being unrestrained, could be called romantic. Then comes the age actually called classical—of Johnson, Pope, Addison, Steele; followed by the 'Romantic Revolt'—Scott, Wordsworth and the rest. Tennyson and Browning are more conventional at least, if that means classical. Yet the former's themes from Malory are obviously romantic in that mid-Victorian setting. Despite the ambiguities of terms above, one observes here an alternation between release and restraint. Or is it fairer to say that these two attitudes are always operative in a state of rivalry, one or the other becoming from time to time more conspicuous? Plato says in the *Phaedrus* (237D) that there are in each of us two ruling and guiding principles, the native inclination to pleasure (Romanticism), and an acquired standard, aiming at the best (Classicism).

Classical literature itself obviously has its romantic elements: the adventures of Odysseus, the tales of Herodotus (in contrast to whom Thucydides would be, in some sense, more 'classical'), Sappho, the lyrics of Aristophanes' *Birds*, Euripides' romantic tragedies, Theocritus' second *Idyll*, the Greek Romances, Catullus, Apuleius. The Romanticist

(Clyde Murley is immediate past president of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South and a member of the association's Executive Committee and the Committee on Educational Policies. In March last year *CJ* published his essay "In Praise of the Less Abundant Life" (331-339). We present here Professor Murley's presidential address, delivered at the meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South on April 3, 1947, at Nashville.

Keats, despite his 'giant ignorance' of Homer, found in him the wonder of discovery. But, per contra, the classical Mathew Arnold found in the *Antigone* ode something which brought "the eternal note of sadness in." Byron, of the Romantic Movement, in "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," imitated Juvenal's first satire; the classical Dr. Johnson, his tenth on the vanity of human wishes. Or, as abounding in classical allusions, they may all be called indiscriminately classical.

Classics in the Classics

THE ANCIENTS had even a classicism and romanticism within their own time. To them Homer was a classic. Horace worried about turning into a text-book for teaching the parts of speech. His rueful expectations were realized; for Juvenal referred to him and Vergil as smoke-begrimed school-books. So familiar was Homer that Persius could use 'Polydamas' to mean any carping critic. So well-established was the *Aeneid* that Juvenal could mean by 'Ucalegon' any next-door neighbor whose house was on fire. The proper name 'Palaemon' came to stand simply for grammar.

The Greeks and Romans had their conservatism. *Nomos* was custom, and *nomizein* often meant to accept customary views; whereas *kainotomia*, innovation, is satirized by Aristophanes and, in less measure, by Plato. But radicals, in their radicalism, appealed to *physis*, nature, as contrasted with *nomos*. So the Thirty Tyrants, according to Lysias vs. Eratosthenes, introduced their innovations under the fairest name, professing to be restoring the ancestral constitution. *Presbeuein*, with its suggestion of the old, means to revere. We hear of things *fas* and *nefas* among the Romans, previously and even prior to specific enactment of man enjoined or forbidden, and therefore presumably right or wrong. Then there is the appeal to *mos maiorum*.

Literary patterns became established. The nurse in the *Medea* wishes that the first ship had never sailed, bringing as it did trouble to her mistress. Catullus in his epyllion and Vergil in the fourth *Aeneid* follow this pat-

tern. After Homer, a respectable epic must have a storm scene and an athletic contest. In the Athenian Memorial Day addresses, there came to be inevitable clichés, mildly satirized by Plato in the *Menexenus*. *Topoi* they called these: the Athenians are literally sons of the soil, champions of liberty for all Greeks, etc. For, says Plato, it is an easy thing to praise the Athenians to the Athenians. *Novae res* had usually a bad connotation; and Cicero cast a slur on innovators in poetry, *hoi neoterói, hi cantores Euphorionis*. Perhaps he refers to Catullus and Calvus.

But there was radicalism, too. Horace—though supposedly belonging to a more conventional period—mildly disparages the *laudator acti temporis*, puts in a word for the enterprising man (*vir experiens*), discounts the uncouth early Roman writers as so bad that, if they once in a while blunder upon a good phrase, it is amusing in such context. He is convinced that those who affect to admire them understand their obscurities no more than he himself does. He opposes gnomic verses without style, and says that the high-spirited young fellows will not stand for them. Juvenal is fed-up with the stereotyped tragic themes. He tells us also that no boy old enough to frequent the public baths believes in Charon and the Styx. Words like *priscus* (e.g., in Catullus 64) and *archaia* (984) and *Kronios* (398) in the *Clouds* (back-number, old-timer) are used as terms of contempt.

Between the extreme conservatism and some radicalism, there was liberalism, too. Lucretius hits a middle ground with his phrase, *pedetemptim progredientis*, progress at foot-pace. In general, the ancients assumed that their predecessors had not been fools, that existing institutions must have had some historical justification, and that changes should not be recklessly made.

The Economic Level

BUT I WAS THINKING, in the relativism of my caption, of the fact that the Classics are to us individually what we make them. First of all, they give us a profession, a means of making a living. Plato says in the *Republic* (345c) that, if a shepherd makes money it is not by

his proper skill—which is directed toward the welfare of the flock—but by an economic art which he also practices. In the light, however, of the present teacher shortage—as dramatically set forth for the Latin field by John N. Hough in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*²—this is a vital matter for the Classics. If it were the only consideration, there would be a vicious circle, in which we teach simply to support ourselves and train other teachers to do the same. But, if the values in which we believe are to be perpetuated, teachers must be attracted to the profession by adequate salaries.

The Propaganda Level

THERE IS, connected with the above, a propaganda level on which the Classics are viewed. Much is made of Atlas tires and other mythological trade-marks—symptomatic no doubt of the penetration of Classical culture into the modern scene, but not very impressive otherwise. If they were called Samson tires, that would not be a compelling reason for reading the Old Testament in Hebrew, much less for becoming a Christian. Even as to more basic values, Harold B. Dunkel, in a paper read at last year's meeting of CAMWS, distinguished between talking-points and teaching-points.³ A certain amount of propaganda is legitimate. But, in honesty, we must see that, in our teaching, possible benefits from Latin study are, by effective methods, made actual.

Some would rest the claims of Latin and Greek largely on their relation to English and their contribution to efficiency in it. This is important enough, were there no other advantages, to justify the general study of them.

Having occasion to look at the glossary of a standard textbook in bacteriology, I noted among other errors in orthography in Greek and Latin derivatives that the *algae* were called 'cryptograms.' The love-life of *algae* could not be called thrilling; but, since the etymology of the correct term 'cryptogam' (the details of which we omit in the interest of propriety) suggests something clandestine, perhaps romance lurks there. In any case, seaweed is to be distinguished from a cipher fer-

reted out by the F.B.I.

But, to shift from technical terms, thought is, as Plato said in the *Theaetetus* (189e-190a), conversation with one's self in words; there is nothing with which we are so constantly occupied as speech and thought. Therefore breadth and precision in vocabulary is a great service from Latin and Greek, when they are properly directed to that end. The best criterion of the efficiency of business executives, said a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, is their vocabulary.⁴ A speaker from a technological school, after describing certain gadgets like jig-saw puzzles, through the timing of the assembling of which pupils' intelligence could be tested, unexpectedly added with enthusiasm, "But the best test of intelligence is vocabulary."

The Political Level

BUT WE CAN JUSTIFY the Classics on grounds even more obviously vital to Americans. A Canadian, whose article was briefed recently in *The Reader's Digest*, stated—though he was not a Classicist—as an accepted fact, that the international issue throughout the war and since was a choice between the concept of the individual as set forth by the Greeks and Romans and certain opposed ideologies.⁵ We know that the founders of this country borrowed heavily from, and constantly quoted, Classical writers on the theory of government. Our very civic life is, then, a legacy from the Classics.

There are some who would stop with this conception. And certainly, in the case of pupils taking only two years of Latin, such practical goals as improved English and the historical view of democracy are proper and about as much as we can expect to reach. This is especially true of the state-supported public schools, and would be an even more natural limitation if Latin were still a required subject.

Yet I am unwilling to go no further, in a mounting series of levels at which the Classics are interpreted and justified. It is not, in my opinion, the sole function of the schools to prepare for citizenship, especially citizenship narrowly interpreted as preservation of the

status quo. While there can be no doubt of the duty to the state, I conceive something higher, including and going beyond mere civic righteousness. In discussions which oppose it to the ideal of individual culture, the fact may be overlooked that, if a man is made a good individual, he will automatically (given also a reasonable acquaintance with the machinery of government—in which the training has been generally deficient) be a good citizen; and that, if on the other hand only a certain behavior-pattern is imposed, he may fall short of the highest citizenship. Ancient education was pointed toward public speaking as involved in political and other public activities. But Plato, Cato, and Quintilian all insist that the politician must be first of all a good man. Those whose citizenship is in Heaven, who hold themselves to the standards of the ideal state of Plato's *Republic*, cannot fail to conceive their duty to their country on a high level. Let us therefore pass on to ethics other than political.

The Ethical Level

THERE IS MUCH injustice in the use of the terms 'Pagan' and 'Christian' as if the former represented the bad opposite of Christian virtue. The plain fact is, that Greek and Latin literature is more consistently preoccupied with ethics than is literature now in countries called Christian. The divorce of literature from the good life is rather a modern than an ancient practice. It would be hard to find among the Classic writers an equivalent of the slogan, "Art for Art's sake," though it accompanies the lion, in incorrect Latin order, as the trademark of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer pictures. Literature as mere individual self-expression was all but unknown among the ancients. It was scandalous to Homer that the Cyclopes had no social justice; Hesiod laments the lack of economic justice; Herodotus tells of the origin of kingship from the high sense of justice of a certain man; the speeches in Thucydides may be sophistical at times, but they show the speakers as sensitive to moral judgments.

Taine said that the British are no better than other people, but have a singular desire

to appear so.⁶ Well, so had the Greeks. It is something, at least, to appeal to a moral standard, rather than to deny its existence, as did Callicles, Thrasymachus, and certain modern dictatorships. Virtue may mean different things in Theognis, Pindar, and the tragic poets; but, all in all, it is an obsession with the Greeks.

There have been various definitions which attempted to state the distinguishing trait of the *genus homo*: as, the featherless biped; or the animal having the power of speech. James Harvey Robinson gives a squirrel's conception of us as "a vague suggestion of peanuts." But Plato says more than once, apparently not as a paradox but what Greeks of his time would grant, that justice or rightness is the unique quality of man. When Prometheus, according to the myth of the *Protagoras*, was to set man apart from the beasts, on whom Epimetheus had—rather too generously—already expended all available physical resources, he did this by implanting reverence and a sense of justice, tempering the common clay with something which transcended it.

The Morality of Grammar

TO ME, EVEN GREEK and Latin grammar has a kind of morality, the languages being written responsibly like a geometric demonstration or a legal document, by incessant conjunctions and particles making explicit the precise logical relations claimed. This contrasts with a modern staccato style, which often consists of a series of detached statements, the interrelation of which is left to the reader's judgment, if indeed it had been thought out definitely by the writer himself.

In this ethical realm, there could be a difference between teaching our languages and doing research in them, and actually being a Classicist. Should not something of the great values inhering in them enter our personalities and contribute to our character? I think we could name scholars who give evidence of having been so moulded. Cicero, in his witty correspondence with young Trebatius, quotes from the *Medea Exul* of Ennius (*Fam.* 7.6), "He who cannot himself apply his wisdom to his own advantage is wise to no

purpose." The question could also be raised, whether, in a literature which includes Seneca, *De Tranquillitate Animi*, Cicero's philosophical works, Lucretius' account of the evolution of society, Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* on the good life, and Vergil's speculations on the after-life, we are realizing the ethical possibilities when we begin the Latin pupil with words for personal and public enemies, a long assortment of lethal weapons, and the gory quartette: *interficere, occidere, necare, trucidare*. Nowhere, perhaps, in his voluminous works, does Cicero appear to so little advantage as in the *Catilines*, unless it be in his verses largely on the same theme. We have not, I think, made the best choices often from the material at our disposal.

The Poetic Pioneer

FINALLY, TO THOSE of adequate attainment, there is the full literary appreciation of the ancient literatures. The Classics will mean a greater thing to such. This is not to put the merely aesthetic above the ethical and other previous categories of the Classics, as they impinge on individuals and become to each, as Protagoras would say, what they seem to each. I mean something more vital than that. "Poetry," said Shelley, "is the impassioned expression which is on the countenance of all science." A poet, to the ancients, was not a mere rhymester or metrist. *Poicin* is a word of creation. God is the poet of the universe. The poet is an *heureka*, a pioneer.

We have a routine phrase, "College of Arts and Sciences." It has a background. The Greeks and Romans put a high value on *inventio*. They regarded it as the same faculty, whether applied to things manual or literary production. In the *Symposium* (209A), Plato gives high rating to "poets . . . and of the craftsmen as many as are said to be inventive." "Add the discoverers of sciences and arts; add the attendants of the Muses," writes Lucretius (3.1036 f.) with the same juxtaposition. In the Elysian Fields of the sixth *Aeneid* (663 ff.), are found those "who were consecrated bards and uttered verses worthy of Phoebus, or those who enriched life through

crafts discovered, men who by their services made themselves memorable to others."

Thought and Form

IT IS ONE THING to give intellectual assent to the stupendous fact of Greek thought and literary form. It is quite another to feel it poignantly. Greece was a tiny state, poor in natural resources. But when, on façades of libraries, hospitals and science buildings, names of immortals are carved; when within them busts are displayed; when lists of ten or more of the world's great books are compiled; that little country dominates. We have become accustomed to a miracle; it would be well for us to recover the amazement proper to such a phenomenon. Lucretius said that, if, having never seen the magnificent pageant of the heavens, we were to be told of it for the first time, nothing could be so incredible. Yet, he continues, sated with seeing it, we now scarcely deign to raise our eyes. "Poetry," says Shelley again, "recreates the universe for us, after its impressions have been dulled by reiteration." To those, then, competent to appreciate through the instrumentality of the actual languages and works of art the marriage of great thought with finished form, the phrase, *The Classics*, seems, and therefore is, the most possible.

And the very languages of which we speak are not merely tool-subjects, so-called. They often embellish and dramatize the thought. We are meeting at a time peculiarly significant to the Christian church. Rossini was not, I think, exactly a saintly man. But when one hears the *Stabat Mater*, the resonant liquids of the Latin language seem, in high solemnity, to count out the heart-beats of the dying Christ: *DUM PENDEBAT FILIUS*.

In the several conceptions of the Classics which I have suggested, it should be remembered that all are legitimate, and that each of the higher views assumes also those below it. Naturally we wish, each of us, to be effective as high in the series as we can. I would that even the young girls, with at most a Latin minor to their credit, who are teaching Latin along with other subjects while awaiting imminent matrimony—that even these, if any

such are present, might feel that at least they have touched the hem of the garment of a great tradition.

Many manuscripts have been lost from this period of the past. Our knowledge, individually, even of what has survived, is limited. But we speak, in effect, still the language of these ancients (with a constantly diminishing proportion of Anglo-Saxon interspersed); our thoughts are largely those they gave us; our nation is an expression of their political ideas; our literature is inspired by theirs. We have come to know them, and

Though inland far we be,
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
Which brought us hither,
Can in a moment travel thither,
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore.

NOTES

¹ B. L. Ullman, *Journal of Higher Education* 17 (June, 1946) 301-307, 337.

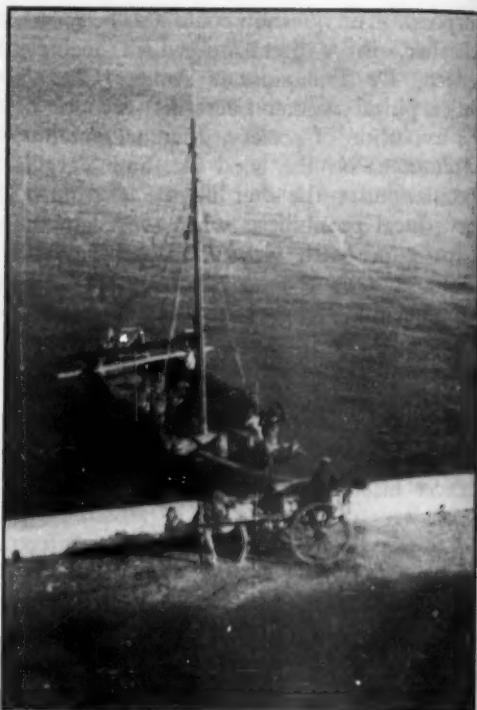
² John N. Hough, "The Placement of Latin Teachers," *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 41 (1945-46) 284-292.

³ Harold B. Dunkel, "Latin and the Curriculum," *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 42 (1946-47), 19-23.

⁴ Johnson O'Connor, "Vocabulary and Success," *Atlantic Monthly* 153 (February, 1934), 160-166.

⁵ Bruce Hutchinson, "Is the U.S. Fit to Lead the World?" *Reader's Digest*, May, 1946, 1-5 (from MacLean's).

⁶ *History of English Literature* (tr. Van Laun, London, 1897), IV, part 1, 151-154.



SHIP TO SHORE, SMYRNA.

THE GREEKS, UNLIKE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES, DID NOT GO "DOWN TO THE SEA IN SHIPS." THEY WENT "UP" TO THE SEA, AND "DOWN" TO THE LAND. (ONE NATURALLY GOES "UP" TO THE "HIGH SEAS.") THIS PICTURE SHOWS A SCENE FAMILIAR IN THE MODERN GREEK WORLD.

CORNELL CLASSICAL CONFERENCE

Mt. Vernon, Iowa

This year's Cornell College Classical Conference will be held on Friday, April 30, and Saturday, May 1, under the direction, as usual, of Professor Mark E. Hutchinson. The date of the conference has been set later than heretofore in order to provide agreeable weather for those who may wish to travel by auto.

"New Areas in the Humanities" is the theme of this year's conference. On Saturday morning there will be a panel on Humanities Courses, presided over by President Nathan Pusey of Lawrence College; President Hollinshead of Coe College will discuss "Aims of a General Course in the Humanities"; other participants will be Professor John W. Clark of Minnesota, Paul Mac Kendrick of Wisconsin, and Norman J. DeWitt of Washington University. Professor Moehlman of Iowa will talk on Humanities Courses from the point of view of the History of Culture.

In addition, on Saturday afternoon there will be a round table on some problems in foreign language teaching, divided into Measurements, Cultural Objectives, and Content. Experts in these fields will lead the discussion.

Many other distinguished speakers will appear on the program, copies of which may be secured by writing Professor Mark E. Hutchinson, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa.

LANX SATURA

Quidquid agunt homines,
votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus, nostri
farrago libelli est.

The Higher Realism

Observations on the Studebaker Plan

PRESENT INDICATIONS are that the most powerful movement ever to affect secondary education in America is now under way. Not only does this movement have back of it a plausible philosophy keyed for mass appeal, but also, since it is under the direction of the United States Office of Education, it enjoys quasi-official standing as though it were a project of the federal government. Plans for the activation of the program are already well advanced among state and local school administrators, and it will not be long before the public as a whole becomes aware of its applications, if not of its implications.

WE QUOTE here from an article by Benjamin Fine, education editor of the New York Times, published in the edition of Sunday, November 23, 1947. The article is headed "CHANGES PROPOSED IN HIGH SCHOOL COURSES ARE AIMED AT A LIFE-ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM."

UNDER THE DIRECTION of the United States Office of Education, vast changes are being planned for the 6,500,000 boys and girls attending the nation's high schools. A nine-man commission has been created to recommend revisions in the school curriculum and bring the courses closer to the needs of the day.

The new developments are the outcome of more than two years of study by leading educators. For many years critics have complained that the high schools do not train for life. They have pointed to the paradox that while only 20 per cent of the secondary students go to college, the program is usually prepared for this group. As a result, as many as 80 per cent of the students may receive an inadequate and unrealistic education.

It is to help these students that the commission has been established. Representing the major educational organizations of the country, the commission has mapped out a program that will have an almost revolutionary effect on the high school courses now offered in the United States. In-

troductory of courses dealing with such subjects as job hunting, budgeting, use of leisure time, the dignity of all types of labor, and civic responsibilities will be considered.

"Obsolete" Training

IN AN INTERVIEW last week Dr. John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, held that too many young people now receive an obsolete education. High schools either prepare the students for college or, in the case of the vocational schools, for a trade. This program, Dr. Studebaker said, is not adequate for the "vast multitude of our youth." He estimated that 4,000,000 boys and girls were not getting what they should out of their high school education.

Pilot schools are to be selected which will serve as demonstration centers for other schools within each state to carry out the far-reaching experiments.

It is the hope of the commission that a more realistic, practical education geared to the needs of the majority of students will be developed in the high schools. Many obstacles are expected, but the educators are prepared to put their recommendations into effect. The curriculum will be reorganized so that a pupil may take the courses which will prepare him best for his objectives in life adjustment, whether these objectives include college, a skilled occupation, or some other field.

Need of Flexibility

EVERY YOUTH attending high school would have experiences in citizenship, home and family life, use of leisure, mental and physical health, use of the tools of learning, work, occupational skills and attitudes.

Calling for a broadened view and a genuine desire to serve all youth, not only those who want to go to college, commission members held that the attitude of teachers and teacher-training institutions will have to change. It will be necessary, these members indicated, for the community to understand the importance of revising the high school education within the community's own systems, and to offer a more meaningful program to all youth.

COMMENT on a program as far-reaching as this is extraordinarily difficult; and it would be rash at the present time to make more than a few cursory observations. It is this writer's conviction that curriculum planning demands the most serious study of which organized learning is capable, yet unfortunately a new curriculum is all too likely to represent a forceful application of one departmental or social or otherwise partisan point of view; and if any serious attempt is made at compromise between points of view or philosophies, the result is likely to be the lowest rather than the highest common denominator of opinion.

One of the curious and tragic facts of our cultural tradition is that education has not yet evolved a philosophy in any way comparable in depth and breadth to jurisprudence, the philosophy of law. Education, like the law, deals with a relationship between the individual, society, and culture; but unlike jurisprudence, the philosophy of education has made no serious attempt to evaluate this three-way relationship. American education in particular has confined itself to the exploration of the needs of the individual, which means that the other two basic factors in the educational process go unobserved. Thus it is our belief that any educational program which claims to be "realistic" and at the same time confines itself to the exploitation of the needs of the individual is in fact pure romanticism, which is the direct opposite of realism.

EXCLUSIVE ATTENTION in current school programs to the needs of the individual involves a curious paradox in the history of education. Our educational process, in its European background, had its origin in a private contract between students and teachers: teachers were hired, individually or collectively, on behalf of students by parents, individually or collectively. Under the terms of a private contract, the immediate needs of the student were logically and justifiably of paramount concern. Education was a private matter. At the same time, the content of education was prescribed by a powerful tradition going back through Cicero to its

formative period in fifth-century Athens with a basic emphasis on rhetoric, i.e. literacy. It was this tradition that gave the educational process its validity, its authority. But while the traditional subject matter has gradually been abandoned in this country under the steady pressure of mass education—the most characteristic feature of which is a retreat from literacy—the classical concept of the relationship between the individual and the educational process has not been abandoned. Although education is now a public matter, the process is still viewed as a private matter: the immediate needs of the student are viewed as of paramount concern, although no longer logically and justifiably.

Educational thought appears not to have made the great shift from a private to a public point of view that jurisprudence made centuries ago. At one time the legal process also was a purely private matter, involving self-help and personal enforcement and composition. As soon as society developed into a recognizable concept, the legal process necessarily became a public matter, with the further result that society itself became a third party in any legal action. The legal process then involved a three-way relationship between the individual, society, and the imperatives of the law. And in the legal process, as in the life of a nation, there are occasions of crisis when the interests of society take precedence over private interests.

If, then, our suggestion is correct that education, like the law, involves a three-way relationship between the individual, society and culture, we are justified in asking to what extent any program recognizes society and culture, and where, as in the case of law, are its imperatives.

Present-day education seems to involve merely a relationship between the individual and his needs, a process in a closed circle whereby not alone the advancement, but even the survival, of culture and civilization are questionable. If this is true, then over-concern for the needs of the individual will ultimately destroy the individual himself.

Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret.

WE DO NOT, by these presents, propose to deny the tremendous advances made in the past fifty years in the *procedures* of education. We know a great deal more than we used to know about *how* to teach, and we hereby pay tribute to the work done in the specialized fields of Education and Educational Psychology. But *what* to teach and *how* to teach are two different things; and in a discussion of *what* to teach, as we have suggested, we need the best resources of all of organized learning. We need the help of educationists, psychologists, political scientists and students of law, cultural anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and other specialists operating in the general social area.

In the process of education, as in the legal process, we need to make the vital distinction between substance and procedure. We have been making great progress on the procedural side of education; on the substantive side we have been making little, if any. Law, in its substantive aspect does not recognize the individual as such; it derives its imperatives from sources stronger than the individual. But the great distinction of Anglo-American law is the extraordinary length to which it goes to protect the individual in its procedures. We suggest that the analogy between the legal process and the educational process holds good in this respect, also: that the procedural aspects of education must recognize the individual, but the substantive aspects (subject-matter) cannot.

SO FAR AS THE MORE apparent aspects of the Studebaker Plan are concerned, it seems to conform in many respects to the Jeffersonian concept of education, in that each student is to be given an education appropriate to his talents and his needs. Certainly the needs of those who are not going on to college deserve full consideration—assuming that we know precisely what those needs are. And it is well to emphasize the dignity of all honest callings, to call attention to the fact that the good man who does a good job with conscience deserves respect.

Ostensibly the plan proposes to give due attention to those who will go on to college, the minority of 20 per cent. But, one wonders precisely what the standing of students who *need* academic subjects, and the standing of those subjects themselves, will be. Special classes, special teachers and courses, or schools, for the academic élite will be a severe added tax burden, and will undoubtedly be regarded as "undemocratic." In view of the present temper of state and local administrators and of the public at large, we doubt that the needs of the academic minority will be met at all. In fact, it is our personal observation that a great many administrators regard the new plan with unholy glee as providing an opportunity to "get" academic subjects once and for all.

ACCORDINGLY, we take the Studebaker Plan as implying the eventual abandonment of academic subjects as we now understand them, viz., foreign languages, mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, English (beyond the level necessary for reading a newspaper), along with such social sciences as represent organized disciplines (i.e. history, political science) rather than spacious civic generalities. If this is the case, then Latin as traditionally conceived and taught is certainly one of the subjects destined for limbo. (We note, not without malice, that Latin must now move over to make room for some of its old rivals.)

To be sure, rather strenuous opposition to the new program may be expected from older organized disciplines and from parents who think they know more than the school superintendent, but, as the *Times* report rather ominously notes, "Many obstacles are expected, but the educators are prepared to put their recommendations into effect. . . . Commission members held that the attitude of teachers and teacher-training institutions will have to change."

WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN to the student whose academic training *should* begin at a fairly early age if he is to serve society in the

capacity for which nature has endowed him? As it is, the superior student should and could graduate from high school with far higher attainments than he now acquires; witness, for example, the graduate from Ontario high schools whose transcript will admit him to an American college on the sophomore level—and this at a time when the Ontario program has been considerably reduced from what it was a generation ago. In this same context, the Chicago college program makes much of the fact that the last two years of high school fail to offer a serious challenge to the qualified academic student, and for this reason the Grade XI student is admitted to the University of Chicago before his learning skills have begun to deteriorate.

As we suggested in our remarks on the parallel between the educational and the legal process, there is one set of interests that seldom seems to be represented in curriculum planning, namely those of society as a whole. Society always needs men and women trained to the utter limit of their capacities. The Studebaker Plan proposes to give each individual what he needs. Can it give society what it needs—future lawyers, doctors, scientists, philosophers, professionals and specialists of all sorts, the leaders and pioneers of civilization? It seems unlikely that we shall receive a satisfactory answer to this question.

WE SAW, in the early days of the recent war, how our nation was face to face with disaster because even then our high schools had not been training enough boys with a grounding in "academic" mathematics and physics. Suddenly high-school mathematics and physics became anything but "academic"

in relation to the war effort. The rapid training of hundreds of thousands of young men in the basic subjects which "realistic" educators had removed from the high-school curriculum is one of the educational marvels of the age. We did it before, but we might not have time to do it again.

THESE OBSERVATIONS have not been offered in a spirit of reaction or intransigence. We do not wish, in noting some of the possible dangers of the new program, to deny the very substantial justice of some of its proposals. In fact—and we ask our readers to note this very carefully—Latin is in a better position than any other of the academic disciplines to adjust itself to the new program, for the two-year schedule developed by the Committee on Educational Policies (published in our November, 1947, issue) has in large part anticipated the educational context of the new Studebaker Plan, and is readily adaptable to it as to content, objectives, and terminal implications. This circumstance, we may add, is not altogether fortuitous, for the Committee has been in close touch with educational trends, and in not a few respects its thinking has coincided with that of the Studebaker commission.

Thus we agree with the objective that every student should receive the maximum degree of education consistent with his needs and talents; we share the genuine desire to serve all youth; but we are not convinced that "academic" subjects must necessarily go by the board, nor are we sure that what is called "realistic" is entirely in touch with reality. We do urge that all educators strive to attain a higher realism in their concept of the educational process.

BIS DAT QUI CITO DAT!

We respectfully urge all subscribers to CJ to send in their renewals for Volume 44 (1948-49) to their regional Secretary-Treasurers during the spring and summer months. In this way their subscriptions will be entered during the slack season, the fall rush will be eased, and all subscribers will receive better service.

NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

THE SUIT FOR INGRATITUDE

HENRI BORNECQUE, in the chapter titled "Le Droit dans les Controverses" from his monograph dealing with the declamations and the declaimers, lists as Greek suits without Roman counterparts the *actiones ingrati* (δική ἀχαριστίας) and *malae tractationis* (γραφὴ κακώσεως). Instead of the former, he says, women at Rome had the *actio rei uxoriae* or suit for recovery of dowry.¹ This statement seems rather expressly to limit the application to a husband's unjustified divorce of his wife.

Quintilian lays no such restriction upon the suit; in discussing types of *status*, he puts ingratitude among other actions under the subdivision of *qualitas*.² A translation of the passage would run somewhat as follows:

There is also the suit for ingratitude, a variety in which the question is raised whether the other party to the proceedings has received a benefit. This claim is rarely to be denied, for denial is proof of ingratitude. The issue is rather how great a benefit he has received, whether he has made return for it, whether one failing to make prompt return is ungrateful, whether he could have made return or whether he owed what was demanded, or what his attitude is.

Nevertheless, the other types of legal action dealt with immediately before and after this analysis show that Quintilian considers the suit Greek, for it falls between misconduct on embassies and action counter to the interests of the state on the one hand,³ and unjust divorce, excuse for contemplated suicide, and marriage to orphaned female relatives on the other.⁴ More than that, at the end of the section he refers to the inventive genius of the rhetoricians and declares that it is useless to try to present systematically all the fictitious ramifications of *qualitas*.⁵

There are in the important collections (i.e., those of the elder Seneca and pseudo-Quintilian) four suits alleging ingratitude. In

Seneca, *Controversiae* 2. 6, a wife who despite a tyrant's torture had denied knowledge of a plot against his life, sues her husband, subsequently successful in his design of tyrannicide, for ingratitude when he divorces her as sterile for five years after their marriage. As Bornecque points out,⁶ Plato (*Laws* 6. 23) makes sterility for ten years justification for divorce. This case is patently non-Roman.

The other Senecan instance (*Contr.* 9. 1) is a historical situation in which the characters are all Greeks. Miltiades, convicted of theft of public monies, is jailed; his place is taken by his son Cimon, who is discharged on the bond of Callias, a wealthy man of mean parentage, who stipulates that the young man shall marry his daughter. Subsequently Cimon, taking her in adultery, kills her despite Callias's entreaties, and is charged with ingratitude.

The *Declamationes Minores* of pseudo-Quintilian furnish two other examples. The 333rd tells how a wealthy man financed the legal training of a poor young protégé, only to have the youth retained as advocate by an enemy who lodged a treason charge against him. After successfully defending himself, the patron sues the lawyer, who takes refuge behind a legal obligation to serve whoever seeks one's advocacy. That purported law is adequate basis for treating the case as fictitious.

The 368th is full of hackneyed situations: A girl who has been ravished chooses marriage to her assailant rather than his death, in spite of her father's protests. He disinherits her and she does not contest his action. Later, when he falls into dire need, she supports him over her husband's objection, and is punished by divorcement. She charges ingratitude. One imaginary law (*optio raptarum*) and two Greek laws (support of needy parents and ἀποκήρυξις or *abdicatio*) plainly put

this declamation also beyond the pale of reality.

It is easily seen that of the four cases only two deal with the issue of divorce, and these in such fashion that neither could serve as the basis of an actual *actio rei uxoriae*. Quite as the passage from Quintilian would lead us to expect, all are Greek in inspiration, anachronistic and unreal in development. Even less substance, though the charge is filed before a Roman praetor, attaches to the horseplay of Cassius Severus in accusing Cestius of ingratitude for attempting to rival Cicero.⁷

However, one should not too readily assume that the unreality of the declamatory cases on ingratitude excludes a true court action. Though it may be inexact to refer to a historical *actio ingrati*, since real prosecutions on that charge are not mentioned before imperial times, and by then the praetor's *formula* and the emperor's or senate's *cognitio* had virtually supplanted the ritualistic *legis actio*, proceedings against ingratitude were genuinely Roman and vigorously invoked at the very time that the collections of declamatory themes were being published. Such recourse lay open to patrons against their recalcitrant freedmen.

Suetonius writes that Claudius *publicavit* (i.e., made the property of the state) those freedmen who masqueraded as Roman knights. *Ingratos et de quibus patroni quererentur revocavit in servitutem*, the biographer continues, adding that the emperor declared his intention to refuse a hearing against their own freedmen to any persons who acted as advocates for freedmen involved in such proceedings.⁸ Possibly the mere initiation of the suit led *ipso facto* to a judgment against the accused, but it is more plausible that revocation of freedom was not automatic; the aggrieved patron may have been called upon to submit evidence and the freedman given opportunity to contest the charges, but without counsel or presumption of innocence in his favor.

A longer passage in Tacitus (*Ann.* 13. 26-27) treats of the same situation, although for *ingratos* the synonymous phrase *male meritis* is used. This is the beginning of the account:

Per idem tempus [A.D. 56, hence during the quinquennium of good government by Nero] actum in senatu de fraudibus libertorum efflagitatumque ut adversus male meritos revocandae libertatis ius patronis daretur.

Many, Tacitus says, favored the proposal, but the consuls did not dare to put it as a motion without first referring it to the emperor for his opinion; they did, however, indicate the senate's attitude in their communication to Nero. In the course of discussion by his privy council there was some support for the measure, and it was pointed out that the only penalty a wronged patron could exact was *relegatio* of the offender to a distance of 100 miles from Rome, that is to say no farther than Campania, the Romans' favorite resort of luxury.⁹ Something more drastic was needed, they argued, to keep in line many freedmen who were outwardly obedient but might easily be seduced by the impunity of offenders. Other advisers, declaring that the guilt was limited to a few, protested against abridgment of the rights of freedmen as a class. From their ranks came a majority of the urban voters, the attendants on public officials and priests, and the police and fire brigades; large numbers of knights and senators traced their origin back to freedmen ancestors. The really effective remedy, said the dissenters, would be for slave owners to remember that two types of manumission were available to them,¹⁰ only one of which (by *vindicta*) bestowed freedom unconditionally, and to make discriminating and considered use of their power. Nero, subscribing to these arguments, wrote back that the senate should weigh the charges against individual freedmen as often as patrons complained, but not enact new legislation affecting the entire class.

One can only speculate as to whether Claudius had let enforcement of his edict lapse (not improbable, in the light of his subservience to freedmen whom he appointed to high executive posts), or whether the offence, being punishable by the emperor himself, had revived after his death. Nero, it will be remarked, turned over to the senate examination and disposition of cases against allegedly

ungrateful freedmen. This is consonant with the general policy of his early administration, when he allowed the senate considerable authority, but it may have been the result of a belief that Claudius' procedure was mistaken or an effort to shift from his own shoulders a task that became progressively more difficult as the freedmen grew in numbers and influence.

CHARLES S. RAYMENT

Carleton College

NOTES

¹ "Les Déclamations et les Déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le Père," *Lille Université, Travaux et Mémoires, Droit et Lettres* (Lille, 1902) 67.

² *Inst. Or.* 7.4.37-38.

³ *Ibid.*, 7.4.36-37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.4.38-39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.4.40.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 66.

⁷ Seneca Rhetor, *Contr.* III, Pref., and see my note in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 42 (1947) 259-261.

⁸ Claudius, 15.2.

⁹ H. Furneaux, in his edition of the *Annales*, points out that no specific legislation of this nature is recorded, but refers to Dio (55.13.7), who says that Augustus in A.D. 4 regulated the rights of patrons over freedmen. The authority to impose *relegatio*, if vested in the patron, Furneaux deems a survival of *patria potestas* exercised over the entire *familia*, freedmen included.

¹⁰ More accurately each type included three subheads, namely *vindicta*, *censu*, *testamento* and *inter amicos*, *per epistulam*, *convivio*; Tacitus somewhat too specifically uses *vindicta* to mean by formal process, as against informal action.

"OLD BRASS-GUTS"

THE YOUNGER generation today usually thinks of the Big Four as the name of a railroad, or, internationally, as the United States, England, France, and Russia. Their parents are reminded, no doubt, of the Big Four statesmen at the Versailles Peace Conference at the close of World War One; our own Woodrow Wilson, the Englishman David Lloyd George, Georges Clemenceau the tiger of France, and Orlando of Italy.

To the Homeric scholar, however, the Big Four would evoke a transition to the days of ancient Rome and Greece, and to four renowned teachers of antiquity: Aristonicus, Didymus, Herodian, and Nicanor. All four were what we would call university professors today, their specialty being grammar, and, in particular, the language and grammar of Homer.

Aristonicus was a "professor" at the great library of Alexandria in the Augustan era. Herodian was one of the most celebrated grammarians of the classical period. His *floruit* was about 160 A.D. Nicanor, a contemporary of the emperor Hadrian, published the specialized Homeric studies from which he received the nickname, "The Punctuator." Didymus worked so hard and so long that he has ever since been called *Chalcenteros*, "Brass-Guts."

Old Brass-Guts was born sixty-five years before Christ, and died at the ripe old age of seventy-five, in the tenth year of Our Lord. He was one of the most versatile and industrious of all ancient scholars, and, next to Aristotle, perhaps the most productive writer of antiquity, if not of all times. Like Aristonicus and Nicanor, he taught at Alexandria, and possibly also at Rome, as did Herodian. The author of between 3500 and 4000 books, it is hardly surprising that he was sometimes called *Bibliolathes*, "Book-Forgetter." Quintilian (1.8.19) said this epithet derived from an occasion when Didymus was demonstrating the worthlessness of a certain historical treatise, and was confronted with a book he had himself written sometime previously which contained that very same treatise.

Didymus wrote one book entitled *The Aristarchian Recension*, in which he attempted to recover, from other critical sources, the lost revision of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by Aristarchus of Samothrace, who had died in 145 B.C. This work, along with the *Critical Signs* by Aristonicus, *Homeric Prosody* by Herodian, and Nicanor's *Homeric Punctuation*, formed the basis for the scholia in the famous *Venetus A* manuscript of the *Iliad*, and so gave rise, even in ancient times, to the appellation, in connection with

Homeric studies, "The Big Four."

The larger part of Chalcenteros' work has perished, but he was the ultimate source for most of the lexicographical learning preserved for us in the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus and in the scholia and the lexicons of Hesychius and Photius. The extant lives of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Thucydides are chiefly the work of Didymus, as are the scholia on Pindar, Sophocles, and Aristophanes.

Despite his astonishing erudition and productivity Didymus was not a creative and

original scholar like Aristotle, "but he deserves our gratitude for gathering together the results of earlier work in criticism and exegesis and transmitting these results to posterity."¹

HARRIS L. RUSSELL

The University of Texas

NOTE

¹ J. E. Sandys: *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, University Press, 1921), vol. 1, p. 143. For more information and additional literature see Pauly-Wissowa: *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. Didymos 8).

—Book Review

CICERONIANUS

Gabriel Harvey's *Ciceronianus*, with an Introduction and Notes by HAROLD S. WILSON, and an English Translation by CLARENCE A. FORBES (University of Nebraska Studies in the Humanities No. 4): Lincoln, Nebraska (1945). Pp. vii+149.

THIS IS the first printing of Harvey's *Ciceronianus* since its publication at London in 1577. Picking up the volume, compactly put together, one sighs for the appearance in similar form of other works mouldering away in original bindings, or known at all in only a few scattered copies.¹

This edition of the work of one of the "most learned scholars of his age," one of Cambridge's "most accomplished Latinists," which has exerted a "significant influence upon English letters," contains many things to interest many readers. Eloquence, of course, or "Ciceronianism," of the kind preached by Ramus as opposed to that by Sturm, is the main theme of the book, but the student of English letters, of oratory, of style, of literary criticism in general, of the Renaissance, not only of Latin literature, will spend several pleasant hours reading this lecture by the Professor of Rhetoric at Cambridge in 1575, whose lectures, alas and alack, the students encouraged "with whistles and shouts."

The competent introduction makes this and other things clear. Perhaps homoioteleu-

ton accounts for the oversights on page 76, lines 1-2 and 32-33, and page 82, lines 17-18, where passages have not been translated. In other respects the translation is accurate and well turned.

On page 121, regarding the phrase *politularum formularum*, the statement is made that *politularum* seems to be a "coinage" and is not found in Harper or DuCange. In Forcellini,² however, the word is listed with a reference to Cicero, *Epp. ad Fam.* 7.33.2: *opus est huc limatulo et politulo tuo iudicio*, and the comment *alii legunt 'polito.'* The Oxford edition of Cicero's *Letters* by Purser retains the standard reading *polito*, with no variant in the *apparatus*. In the *Index Verborum Ciceronis Epistularum* by Oldfather, Canter, and Abbott, *politulo* appears neither in the index nor the *additamentum ad apparatusum criticum*. Perhaps an examination of editions of the *Letters* which appeared before 1900 (these not having been collated by the compilers of the index, nor available to the present reviewer), might reveal the source of *politulo*.

LEO M. KAISER

St. Louis University

NOTES

¹ Only eleven copies of the *Ciceronianus* remain.

² The *Stephanus Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (the edition of 1741) also lists *politulus* with the same reference to Cicero.

THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

A department for the discussion of classroom theory and practise, and the exchange of practical teaching ideas, conducted under the direction of the Committee of Educational Policy of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. Teachers are urged to forward items of general interest based on their own experience to the Editorial Representative of the Committee, Mrs. Ruth F. Joedicke, Mary Institute, Clayton 5, Missouri.

Hear, see, write, read—
Challenge and response in Latin teaching

"THE CLEVELAND PLAN"

THE MULTIPLE APPROACH IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

E. B. de Sauzé

Ed. Note—For a number of years a strikingly original plan of teaching foreign languages has been in operation in the public schools of Cleveland, Ohio, under the direction of Dr. Emile B. de Sauzé. Himself a native of France, Dr. de Sauzé first evolved this plan for French, then extended it to other modern languages and finally to Latin. We are glad to present here Dr. de Sauzé's own explanation of the philosophy lying back of the Cleveland method. While it has been much discussed and not infrequently criticized, there is much in the theory of the Cleveland Plan that Latin teachers may profitably note, even though they may not agree with or accept the method as a whole. Particularly important is the emphasis upon the "Multiple

Approach"—a device which any teacher may profitably use to greater or less degree.

While the Cleveland Plan was in operation long before war-time methods focussed attention upon language teaching, reference to it is particularly appropriate at the present time when traditional methods are so seriously questioned. It should be noted that while the oral use of a foreign language is an integral part of the Cleveland Plan, mere oral fluency is not the exclusive objective as it is in many of the more recent teaching techniques. Dr. de Sauzé views reading, writing, speaking, and understanding as a set of objectives forming an organic whole.

OUR TEACHING of foreign languages should be so organized that it draws out certain faculties of the mind, instills certain mental habits, while endowing the student with certain fundamental skills which in due time will enable him to read, write, speak and understand the foreign language. Whenever he is in possession of those skills, he will "cultivate" his mind further through the

varied contacts that his acquired knowledge makes possible in the field of literature, travel and interchange of ideas through oral or written language.

This conception of the function of the foreign language in the curriculum is the beacon light that illuminates our path when in search of fundamental principles and adequate technique.

This philosophy eliminates from consideration the teaching of a language purely through memorizations and habituation. It is true that a child has learned his mother tongue solely through that natural process, but it is impossible for schools to create the same intensity of contacts enjoyed by the child while learning his tongue, or by the adult when living in a foreign land. Furthermore, an intelligent adult is rarely successful in mastering a foreign language without learning in a functional way certain fundamental principles that govern the structure of that language and that enable him to generalize, to multiply his experience a thousand times. To know by memory even an ample stock of ready-made sentences in a language is not the same as to know that language. But even if that scheme of learning a language through habituation alone were possible, it would have little educational value in "drawing forth" faculties, specifically in developing the language sense.

The most vital problem in any classroom is how to stimulate and retain the interest of the pupils. Interest, attention, concentration, learning, cannot be separated, and teaching or learning is indeed a dreary, almost an impossible task without them. Forcible feeding, mental as well as physical, is a nasty operation and is seldom successful. "The art of teaching," says A. France, "is only the art of interesting, of arousing curiosity, and curiosity is active only in happy minds." Interest is the oil of the machinery of education; without it the wheels may go around, but there is friction, heat and prompt stopping. The doctrine of interest does not mean the emasculatation of the subject, by removing all difficulties; the little girl who once said to her teacher: "Now what are you going to amuse us with today?" was perfectly conscious and pointedly critical of that type of teaching supposedly interesting. Students respect a teacher who makes them apply themselves and they enjoy a subject that has enough substance to challenge their efforts.

Interest is maintained when the material to be taught is carefully organized along sound laws of learning, when the students find in

the subject a constant challenge to solve carefully graded difficulties, and when the technique of introducing the new elements follows correct psychological and pedagogical practice.

The Doctrine of Interest Applied

LET US EXAMINE the practical application of this doctrine of interest in the field of a foreign language. First of all, how does it affect the selection of the material to be taught? It is an accepted principle that we deal well only with things that are within our range of experience. When a student learns a new language, he really is transferring his acquired experience from his mother-tongue to the new language. He is learning a second mode of expressing this same experience. This transfer will be all the more easily and successfully effected if the elements are introduced along the same fundamental sequence and relation that prevailed when he learned his mother-tongue. The topics introduced for reading or speaking must be a close counterpart of his experience; they should at first center around his daily activities, home, school, sports, restaurants, amusements, etc.; later, when he already has mastered this expression of his elemental interests, his curiosity may be aroused into reading and speaking about the foreign nation. A safe and sane criterion to follow in establishing a vocabulary for a first-year course of study should be to group carefully the most elemental activities of a student of a given age, and to determine the vocabulary essential to the "living" again of each activity in the new language. Common sense here would save the tragic mistake of establishing a vocabulary for first year, not on that previous experience of the student, but on a word-count of books to be read in advanced classes. This word-count, scientific as it may seem at first glance, satisfactory as it may be to the educational expert who speculates at his desk far from a close contact with the twelve-to-fourteen-year-old pupils, is after all a most unsatisfactory, unscientific approach to the problem. Every language is learned by a certain sequence which progresses upward, not downward. To quote

here Prof. Louis Marchand, "Every Englishman learns 'red' before 'crimson,' 'end' before 'extremity,' 'always' and the verb 'to last' before 'eternal,' 'eternity,' 'to see' before 'visible' and 'vision.'" Furthermore, concrete expressions not only are learned first, but are more easily explained and retained. It seems very poor pedagogy therefore to leave the important matter of the right vocabulary to be introduced at first to the hazard of a word-count based on probable "classics" to be read.

The problem, however, in Latin seems insoluble since every course of study requires the reading of Caesar, Cicero, and Virgil. It becomes, therefore, a practical necessity to limit the first-year vocabulary to the words to be met in such books.

This fundamental vocabulary should be introduced not as detached words, but as a connected story. The unit in a language is the sentence. To require of a class to memorize a list of detached words is about as thrilling and as successful as learning a list of telephone numbers. Association is the fundamental law of memory. Since our aim is also to train the student to read, we must introduce him very early to a text that expresses thought and not to a haphazard collection of sentences that jump from the cow to the moon and create in the mind of the student the distinct impression that the new language is not capable of conveying thought, but only serves to illustrate grammatical relationship.

Laws of Learning

LET US SEE NOW how that carefully organized material may be introduced to the class in a manner that will again arouse and sustain the interest. We found here some definite principles of pedagogy and psychology that apply closely to the learning of linguistic elements.

Every experiment conducted to determine the amount of grammatical material to introduce at one time demonstrates conclusively that considerable confusion is avoided and time ultimately is saved when we present those elements one at a time, when we split them into small units, and when we even

separate the exceptions from the rule. This practice which we label "single emphasis" focuses the mind of the student on one difficulty instead of exposing it to several, causing thereby a blurring of the picture. In French, for example, it is found more efficient not to combine in one lesson even related elements like the contractions of the definite articles, the partitives, the exceptions to the rule of the partitives. In German only one gender is introduced at first and of course only in the nominative case. In Latin one declension and one case of that declension constitute a unit of presentation.

Not only should those elements be introduced one at a time, split to the smallest possible unit (and the younger the student, the smaller the unit), but we should linger long enough on that element to give the student time for assimilating, for mastering that element. We find another fundamental principle operating here, that of "incubation." A student not only should have an understanding of a rule, but he should have "assimilated" it through a sufficient series of drills, through repeated use until he has acquired a ready command of that rule. Difficulties still unconquered should not meet new difficulties on the way. To borrow an example from the field of physiology, we should not present the student with another meal merely because he has finished eating. Ample time should be allowed for digestion. As a rule the courses of study in languages have been unduly rich. We have conducted a mad "steeple-chase" through the textbooks, creating thereby an almost hopeless confusion of facts and impressions. In our experiments we calculate that it takes approximately five recitations in the senior high school and seven to eight in the junior high school before one unit of grammar, skillfully woven into a connected text containing 30 new words, may be said to be reasonably well mastered to the point that it is safe to proceed to the next unit.

One may object here that this careful procedure runs contrary to a tendency that has been noted in many schools and colleges and which emphasizes quantity rather than quality in the assignment and recitations of classes

studying foreign languages. There are some who believe that extensive reading is more productive of results than the intensive process which is here advocated. It all depends upon the conception that one has of a "reading knowledge." Here as in all problems it may help to start with a definition. Reading from the standpoint of the reader is an instantaneous flashing of the meaning of the sentence read without the intermediary of the mother-tongue. Any reading that is not reasonably spontaneous is not reading, but deciphering. Any reading that is interrupted too often for looking up unknown elements, or that is slowed up by being sensed first through English, prevents the student from appreciation of shades of meaning, beauty of form, esthetic value of the text read. In the early stages of instruction we are concerned primarily with the acquisition of "skills"; the reading "skill" in the sense of the above definition is best secured through careful study of limited material. The writer after examining many freshmen entering French classes in several universities came to formulate the following proposition: the knowledge of a foreign language is in inverse ratio to the number of books read in a given time. It may be added that the perusing of countless pages just to discover the approximate meaning of those pages not only is grossly inefficient as a means of acquiring a real reading power, but also leads the student into habits of carelessness, slovenliness, and into an unscientific attitude toward the whole problem of language study which he assumes to be purely one of habituation resulting from a series of unsystematic contacts.

We noticed early in our experiment that learning by rote, in the conventional way, elements of grammar such as declensions and conjugations was causing wrong habituation through associations that inhibited spontaneous use of the particular case of noun or person of the verb needed. Who has not observed the pathetic demeanor of the student who in order to find the French for "we go" has to start with the first, second and third singular before coming to the form wanted?

The Value of Challenge

IN ATTEMPTING to find the most efficient, the most impressive way of introducing new elements of language, of crossing the bridge from the known to the unknown, we discover the tremendous value of the principle of "challenge." All teachers who have been robbed of valuable time by students wasting a great deal of it solving puzzles or cross-words are painfully aware of the great fascination that such amusements hold for young and old. The psychological explanation for such a stubborn endeavor to find the answer to the puzzles is very evidently to be found in the automatic, instinctive reaction of anyone to a challenge. Our first movement is to take it up. This psychological reaction explains the superiority of the inductive process as a teaching device. Instead of presenting the student with a rule on a platter, we set up a few carefully chosen illustrations of that rule and let him discover through skilful guidance the relationship of the new elements to others previously mastered and to formulate his observations into a law governing those cases. The inductive process has the following advantages: it causes concentration, it sustains interest, it gives to the neurones the stimulation that comes from the satisfaction of having accomplished by one's own efforts a worthwhile and difficult task, it assists the memory which retains more easily and permanently any element that has been carefully observed and stayed with. Another and an exceedingly valuable by-product resulting from the use of the "challenge" device is the training that the student receives in the most important tool of research, the inductive method. The writer has an unshakable belief that such mental habits are transferable not only to the related field of language, but to any situation requiring systematic observation and careful generalization.

The same technique of challenge is used successfully in the teaching of new vocabulary elements incidental to reading. There are three ways of dealing with the genesis of unknown words: they may either be translated into the mother-tongue, or be pointed to or

explained by paraphrasing. The first method, alas! is the easiest, and therefore is still in general use in spite of the fact that it is most inefficient. Translation causes no challenge, it gives the fact too freely, and it creates but a fleeting impression on the brain cells. The second method is better, as it brings in visualization. The third one, which consists in explaining new words with the help of elements previously taught, is far superior to all others, as it is based on challenge and uses the inductive process. It has the added advantage of creating associations by linking the new word with others related to it and of framing it into the relationship of cause to effect or succession in time.

The "paraphrase" device solves also the most puzzling problem of language learning: repetition, by compelling almost automatically every teacher to review previously taught material. It prevents the creation of separate uncommunicating compartments called lessons, each in turn seen, then left behind like stations along the railroad track. Repetition is necessary to produce habituation, that stage of spontaneous recognition or use of the language so essential if students are ever to read or speak fluently.

Speaking and Hearing

OF ALL THE VARIOUS devices of technique that we use in our teaching, the most efficient, the most stimulating, indeed the most essential to success is the oral and aural use of the language. Interest is maintained always at its highest pitch through speaking. It is without question the most natural way of satisfying the innate desire of the student of a language to use that language; with younger students it caters to their "love of doing," their desire to manipulate and put to use every material, every new acquisition. Every human being is endowed with the inherited ability to learn a language by ear; because countless generations have dealt with language in terms of sounds and only comparatively recently has language become a matter of letters, all of us have an atavistic aptitude for receiving linguistic facts more vividly,

more satisfyingly through the ear; the eye has become merely an auxiliary organ, one that should be used only as a second and never as a first organ of reception. One of our experiments shows that it takes an average child with his auditory and visual senses equally developed one hundred "seeings" of an abstract word before he has an automatic recognition of its written form, while twenty "hearings" plus five "seeings" are sufficient to imprint the same word in a deep groove upon the memory cells, and to make it available for purposes both of reading and conversing. The most efficient chain of presentation is the ear, the voice, the hand, and the eye. While some of those sequences may be changed, the ear should always receive the word as a sound before the eye sees it.

The form of oral practice we use is not a hit-or-miss series of questions without an object except possibly the increase of a stock of ready-made sentences. It is a "purposeful" exercise, aiming at the mastery through oral use of fundamental principles of grammar and a connected topic. It may take the form not only of questions but also of dramatizations, by taking advantage of the dramatic instinct which is so strong even in the high school student.

English Eliminated

VERY EARLY in our experiment we find that classes in which the foreign language is used exclusively as a medium of instruction are securing appreciably better results than others in which English is used part of the time. Students, particularly those in the junior high school, are very sensitive to this imponderable called the "class atmosphere." They take special pride in the fact that no English is allowed and in some instances they voluntarily impose a fine for any unnecessary English word. The only English permitted is the word or sentence introduced in the foreign language for the express purpose of clarifying a point of grammar or an idiomatic expression. Even rules of grammar may be dealt with in the foreign language (with the possible exception of Latin), pro-

vided the teacher uses ingenuity and limits herself to simple expressions. We grant, of course, that the whole course of study must be organized with that technique in view. Some may object that we complicate the problem by introducing useless grammatical terminology. By actual count, however, we have found only three or four expressions that might be said to belong exclusively to grammar; all others either were exactly English in sound and spelling or belonged to a useful general vocabulary. We are convinced after years of experimentation: (1) that it is possible to eliminate English entirely as a medium of instruction from the foreign language classroom; (2) that it saves considerable time to use the foreign language exclusively; (3) that it creates a wholesome atmosphere in the classroom; (4) that it stimulates both teacher and students to make the necessary efforts to express oneself in the foreign language; (5) that experience has shown that it is exceedingly difficult, not to say impossible, to limit oneself to a minimum of English; all administrators agree that the almost irresistible tendency is to increase the amount, five minutes today, ten tomorrow, ending with only ten minutes of the foreign language in a comparatively short time.

Translation

WHAT ABOUT TRANSLATION? While a limited amount of English into the foreign lan-

guage has some value as a means of insuring more precision in the use of grammatical rules, translation into English is a hopelessly dull process that we can well afford to abandon. No one will deny the educational, the cultural value of rendering a page of French, for instance, into elegant English, with all the shadings of thought and beauty of form of the French; but such an exercise is exceedingly difficult and cannot be carried on successfully except in the solitude of one's room. Few people achieve success in this type of translation, which should be tried out only occasionally. The translation usually practiced in the foreign language classroom is a perfunctory rendering into very indifferent, if not wrong, English, purely as a convenient device for reciting an assignment in reading. A skilful teacher, anxious to save valuable time and to excite the interest of the class in the work, will find judicious questioning in the foreign language, résumés, and dramatizations a far more efficient, far less wasteful device. The constant practice in translation creates an inhibition to spontaneous reading by accustoming the reader to the use of the intermediary of English in a process that should proceed directly from the printed page to understanding. All our data show that the shortest road even to a reading knowledge of a foreign language is through a proper use of oral speech.

"LATIN WEEK" BULLETIN

Copies of this year's "Latin Week" Bulletin, "The Latin You Speak Today," by Clyde Murley (now in its third printing) are available from the office of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, William C. Korfmacher, Saint Louis University, 15 North Grand Blvd., St. Louis 3, Missouri.

The pamphlet deals with the surprisingly large number of Latin phrases used in current English, and has proved exceedingly popular both for distribution in connection with "Latin Week," and for classroom teaching purposes. The bulletin, like its predecessors, is sponsored by the Committee on Educational Policies. Copies are available at the following rates: orders of 1 to 24, 10¢ each; 25-99, 7¢; over 100, 5¢ each.

Professor Korfmacher also has available extra copies of bulletins for the two preceding years, as well as copies of the pamphlets "The High School's Obligation to You," by Norman J. DeWitt (15¢) and "The High School's Obligation to Democracy," by Fred S. Dunham (15¢).

BOOK REVIEWS

ROMAN LEGAL SCIENCE

SCHULZ, FRITZ, *History of Roman Legal Science*: Oxford, at the Clarendon Press (1946). Pp. xvi+358. 21 s.

THE CREDO OF the author, one of the most prominent Romanists of our day, is expressed in the preface: "Roman legal science is the purest and most original expression of the Roman genius; he who would pay homage to that genius cannot content himself with a distant bow to Roman legal science." Inspired by this conviction Professor Schulz's homage to Roman jurisprudence, written with a perfect knowledge of the subject and the pertinent literature, with an enviable mastery of both the juristic sources and the classical literary works wherever they refer to the life and activity of Roman jurists, becomes a brilliant performance, unique of its kind. It is unique, not only as the first comprehensive presentation of the subject in English (with the help of Professor F. de Zulueta), but also as the first exhaustive work in the international Romanistic literature concerned exclusively with legal science. Thus far Roman jurisprudence has been allotted more or less extensive chapters in general textbooks of the sources of Roman law and short introductory sections in manuals of Roman law. Among the few exceptions, the unfinished *Römische Rechtswissenschaft zur Zeit der Republik* (1888) by Paul Joers, a highly instructive introduction to the subject, should not be forgotten. Schulz's extensive volume, however, a fruit of forty years of intensive study and serious scholarly research work, original in its approach to the subject as a whole and to the manifold particular problems as well as in its systematic arrangement, goes far beyond anything that other presentations have offered so far.

The book under review is mainly concerned with the sociological structure of the Roman legal science, its tendencies and methods, and

the manifold forms of transmission of its achievements as well. Thus the picture designed by Professor Schulz with the temper which characterizes all his work takes on specific distinguished features. Bio-bibliographical data about the individual jurists are dispersed through the whole volume if not omitted altogether. For particular information of this kind the reader will have to look into older text-books and encyclopedic works.¹ The accurate index and the well selected references to the literature in the footnotes, and the particularly important additional notes (pp. 332-346) will be a good help in this connection.

It should be emphasized that ancient literary sources are exploited with a surprising plenitude. Even experts in the field will confess having found citations in Schulz that they had never met before. I, for one, confess it frankly and gratefully.

The work is built up on the division of the history of the Roman jurisprudence into four periods: 1. the archaic period beginning with the Twelve Tables and ending with Second Punic War; 2. the Hellenistic period embracing the last two centuries of the Republic, during which Roman jurisprudence entered into closer touch with Hellenism; 3. the classical period from Augustus to Diocletian, in which the legal policy of Hadrian made a neat line of division into two distinctive phases; and 4. the final period, from Diocletian to Justinian, called by Schulz the "bureaucratic period." The author prefers this term to the commonly used "post-classical." He is certainly right in avoiding the latter term as a label for nearly three centuries. Apart from its vague indication of the time involved—some authors mean by "post-classical" the decades immediately following the classical period, others include even pre-Justinian times—the term as such is not adequate to serve as a characteristic mark for the period

in question. But whether "bureaucratic" is the right epithet for the legal science of the period is another question. It will take some time for us to become familiar with this new denomination for an age which was so "polyphonic" in its general juristic tendencies (p. 299). The word "bureaucratic," after all, also fits a part of the juristic activity of the preceding period, and it is rather a concession to the general history of the age in which bureaucracy was a decisive factor in the method of government.

The legal science of each of the four periods is depicted from the following angles: the jurists, the legal profession including advocates, teaching of law, literary activities, character, and tendencies of jurisprudence, form and transmission of the juristic literature. Thus the whole presentation acquires an admirable symmetry, lucidity, and even completeness, though space limitations sometimes compelled the author to forego discussion of less important details. It is quite natural that the classical period occupies nearly as much space as the other three periods together. For this reviewer the most exciting and fascinating part is the last one dedicated to the "bureaucratic" period. Neglected sources are there originally exploited, and many suggestions are put forward that are not only surprising but also stimulating to further research.

It is self-understood that not all the theses proffered by Schulz will meet general acceptance. That is the lot of all comprehensive presentations. But the broader the discussion which some of the positions taken by the author may provoke, the more appreciable his merits will be. In the same spirit of sincerity with which he criticizes other scholars, Schulz invites criticism of his doctrines. Within this review a few specific comments may be permitted.

One of the most interesting problems is that of the transmission of the classical juristic writings in the final period: whether and to what extent the editions of the classical works used by the compilers of the *Digest* were faithful copies of the originals. Schulz assumes that the re-editing of those works went on

continuously at the end of the third century and in the first decades of the fourth, i.e. in the early part of the so-called "bureaucratic" period. "Not one of the classical works that have come down to us is exempt from the suspicion of having been revised in post-classical times" (p. 143). A new type of research is therefore needed: the history of the transmission of each work must be studied separately. This reasoning, applicable to all classical writing, provokes a question which to me seems hardly soluble as far as juristic works are concerned. Who were those anonymous jurists who "adapted" the classical works "with the necessary freedom to present needs" (p. 142) and had the competence and authority to do such a job? The addition of unimportant marginal glosses could be accomplished by practitioners and obscure lawyers. Substantial alterations, however, could be inserted only by jurists of higher qualifications. And we do not know of a single professional jurist in the time mentioned who did such work. According to Schulz, "from Diocletian onwards the bureaucratic system concentrated a monopoly of the direction of the legal practice and development in a central office, and imposed anonymity" (p. 264). But was there really any need for them to re-edit the classical works? Sitting in the imperial chancery and the highest administrative offices, they had other and better means (rescripts, imperial enactments) for the creation of new law instead of adapting older juristic products.

The problem is connected with still others: the existence of apocryphal works and the nature of those "adaptations." To the long list of works, of which we know the titles and authors through Justinian's compilation, and the authenticity of which has been suspected in the last twenty years, further additions are made by Schulz, with more or less insistence. I consider the efforts to prove their non-authenticity hopeless in many instances, particularly when a minor work is represented in the sources by only a few texts, in some cases one or even none at all. Recently² the apocryphal character of single-book-monographs (*libri singulares*) attributed to classical

jurists, especially to Paul, was affirmed: they would have been "elaborated in juristic schools of the post-classical epoch" (post-Dioctetian or fifth and sixth centuries?). Those "postclassici" are accused not only of falsifying excerpts from Paul's works but also of signing his name to "more audacious monographic writings of an abstract and theoretical character." This assumption certainly does not follow in the direction of Schulz's ideas (p. 252), although he too, on one occasion, speaks of a weak pamphlet ascribed to Paul, *De Gradibus et Adfinibus*, as a postclassical forgery (p. 253). But Schulz rejects the view that those anonymous postclassical compilations originated in the law schools (pp. 264, 300). Moreover, he points out that among the *libri singulares* there were some which were simply classical or postclassical separate editions or postclassical abridgements of portions of larger works (p. 252). But a separate edition or abridgement of a work of Paul does not cancel Paul's authorship.

As for the "adaptations to contemporary life" (p. 280), a more precise definition of what is meant by "adaptation" is necessary. If it is nothing more than abridgement, condensation of the original, addition of introductions, paraphrases, production of epitomes and anthologies in order "to render the classical works more readily accessible," it does not mean very much. Schulz calls it a "respectable performance" in those times "of growing intellectual fatigue" (p. 264). But I would rather hesitate to see the origin of this "intellectual fatigue" as early as in the second century as far as legal science is concerned (Schulz, pp. 129, 264). Schulz speaks of "adaptations" also with reference to the interpolations in Justinian's *Digest* (p. 283). They present a different picture, however, and there can be no doubt about the different character of the "adaptations" made by Tribonian and his colleagues under the express order of the emperor.

Some minor items: On p. 136, the well-known saying of Celsus "*ius est ars boni et aequi*" is dismissed as an empty rhetorical phrase. Apart from the question of its origin, and the qualification "elegant" given to the

adage by Ulpian, who goes on to say that the jurists profess "*boni et aequi notitiam, aequum ab iniquo separantes*," it could not possibly appear to the Romans devoid of all significance. The twin words occur together elsewhere, and obviously constituted a well-known and well-understood expression. The author will meet certain opposition from scholars who approach the text from another angle.³ I, for one, am not shocked by the word *ars*: what Cicero called *ars*, although an *ars secunda* in comparison with rhetoric, might easily have been called *ars boni et aequi* in the times of Hadrian.

The author's sparkling remarks on *Digest*, 1.2.2.49 (p. 115 f.) raise once more the question of Hadrian's attitude to the *ius respondendi*. In my opinion, the last word has not yet been said on this text. We may reserve for another occasion the attempt to explain Hadrian's answer as referring only to *virī praetorii*, and not to the *ius respondendi* in general.

It can hardly be possible that the statement "since 1910 the study of the linguistic usage of the classical jurists has been very active under the leadership of G. Beseler" (p. 260) means that this scholar has been the "leader" in the enormous progress made in this field of Romanistic studies. At any rate, it cannot be accepted by anyone who has not followed the "method" applied by Beseler, or who, like this reviewer, has taken decided position against it from the very beginning. As things stand today, literally thousands of interpolations and text reconstructions alleged by Beseler may be considered rejected. It is a matter of question whether his so-called *Wortmonographien*, on which this reviewer expressed his opinion as early as 1912,⁴ did actually further the critique of juristic texts.

The inference that "when Justinian in his constitutions speaks of controversies among *veteres* or *antiqui* (*antiqua sapientia, antiquae dubitationes*) he is referring at times to the fifth-century professors of Berytus, not to the classical jurists," (p. 274, n.11) requires a special study which this reviewer may make at some other time. His first impression after a rapid glance at the texts listed by Rotondi⁵

to whom Schulz refers is that the reservation "at times" linked with the four expressions quoted will probably need further modification.

Among Professor Schulz's many scholarly achievements, which deal with all sections of the large field of Roman law, his *History of Roman Legal Science* is a worthy counterpart to his brilliant and unparalleled *Principles of Roman Law*.⁶ In the latter work, which was recently honored by a translation into Italian by V. Arangio-Ruiz (1946), Schulz gave an admirable analysis of the spirit which underlay the rules of Roman law. In his recent book he reveals the spirit and tendencies of Roman legal science in all phases of its development, and he does so in an original, impressive, and stimulating manner. Every reader will profit richly from a study of the book, both the specialist in Roman law, and the advanced law student, who will gain greater understanding of the heritage Rome left the world. Above all, however, the work is to be recommended in the strongest terms to those for whom it was planned by the author as a "book

to read": to students of classical philology and ancient history, and, we may add, to all lovers of classical antiquity.

ADOLF BERGER

École Libre des Hautes Études
New York

NOTES

¹ Not, of course, into the obsolete 1892(!) edition of Teuffel's *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, as was recently (1944) suggested in a legal periodical.

² See A. Guarino, *Zeitschrift Savigny-Stiftung, Rom. Abt.* 62 (1942), 209 ff., 218.

³ See L. Wenger, *Canon, Sitz.-Ber. Akad. Wien* 220 (1942), 22, 51; S. Riccobono, *Quaderni di Roma* 1 (1947), 32; B. Biondi, *Scritti in Onore di Ferrini* (Pavia, 1946), 212: "When a Roman jurist gratified a need of life through a solution conforming to *bonum et aequum*, he fully accomplished his task. We expect all from the legislator; the Romans, instead, expected all from the wisdom of the *juris prudens*"; Koschaker, *Europa und das römische Recht* (München, 1947), p. 37.

⁴ Later in *Kritische Vierteljahresschr. für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswiss.* 40 (1923), 392 ff.

⁵ The list, a posthumous publication, is not accurate.

⁶ Published in German, 1934, English translation 1936.

ENGLISH EPIGRAM

HUDSON, HOYT HOPEWELL, *The Epigram in the English Renaissance*: Princeton, Princeton University Press (1947). Pp. viii + 178. \$2.50.

AT HIS DEATH in 1944, the accomplished translator of Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* left among his literary effects a manuscript comprising the first four chapters of a study to which he had devoted much of his attention for some twenty years; the whole work, as shown by a mass of additional notes, would have run to at least seventeen chapters. Three of Professor Hudson's colleagues took upon themselves the task of seeing the virtually completed fragment through the press, and, in spite of the hesitancy expressed in their joint foreword, they can scarcely be charged with a disservice to his memory, for the handsome little volume which has left their hands is a credit to their taste, while its substance possesses a unity and a finish that justify their decision.

In Chapter I, entitled "The Nature of the Epigram," the author disengages this species of composition from various related forms such as the inscription, the proverb, satire, and elegy; while the Martalian epigram, with its insistence on "point," is distinguished from the sort most characteristic of the Greek Anthology. It develops that Julius Caesar Scaliger, in his *Poetices libri septem* of 1561, is less satisfactory as a theorist than Lessing, who observed in his *Anmerkungen über das Epigramm* that there are two essential elements, the "Erwartung" or "anticipation," and the "Aufschluss" or "explanation," and that these are analogous to a statue and the inscription which identifies or explains it. The corresponding Latin terminology varied: *expositio, clausula; indicatio, conclusio; protasis, apodosis; subjectum, praedicatum*.

The high light of Chapter II, "The Epigrams of Sir Thomas More," is the account

of a literary controversy between More and Germanus Brixius (Germain de Brie). More's patriotism was affronted when he read the other's *Herveus, sive Chordigera Flagrans*, an exaggerated laudation of the French captain, Hervé, whose *Cordelière* had engaged a British ship in a battle that had brought him death and dubious laurels. Erasmus, when asked to censor More's retaliatory epigrams, permitted nine to speed toward their mark; these ridiculed the unlikely dexterity with which Hervé had been described as wielding five weapons simultaneously. Brixius then countered with an *Antimorus*, making sport of his adversary's Latinity and punning intricately upon his name:

Proin, si cura tui, aut patrii tibi nominis ulla est,
More tace, aut Latio discito more loqui.
Sicque tuos inter morari desine, More,
Versusque, et mores indue, More, novos.

More's last sally consisted of four new poems, in one of which he gleefully quoted against the Frenchman a hendecasyllabic verse that had somehow slipped its leash:

... Exarsisse, hominumque in ora protulisse.

The genial Erasmus finally brought about a reconciliation, after national honor had been satisfied on this unideological plane.

The third chapter, "Scholarly Epigrammatists after More," deals with Lily and Whittington, rival composers of Latin grammars as well as epigrams, followed by Constable, Leland, Parkhurst, Haddon, and Buchanan. Of these the last was clearly the greatest, though Queen Elizabeth is said to have expressed her preference a little evasively: Buchananum omnibus antepono, Haddonum nemini postpono. Professor Hudson raises the question as to "... whether the Leonora and Neaera of his (sc. Buchanan's) poems represent real or fanciful persons" (p. 115) and replies that "... we may give the usual answer when a poet's use of biographical material is under scrutiny: yes—and no." This verdict may seem a little abrupt to those who have wondered about Ovid's Corinna. The author traces with patient skill the fortunes of individual epigrams, such as

the one by Buchanan which, to our surprise, was inspired by a letter of Libanius:

Frustra ego te laudo, frustra me, Zoile, laedis:
Nemo mihi credit, Zoile, nemo tibi.

This theme was used in a song that won popularity in the eighteenth century:

Tu parles mal partout de moy,
Je dis du bien partout de toy . . .

and it supplied Voltaire with a *bon-mot* (p. 116).

Chapter IV, "The Epigram in Schools and Colleges," discusses *inter alia* the practice of requiring students to compose original epigrams when provided with a subject or model. There are some entertaining examples of schoolboys' japes, and of the pawky quirks and conceits of their masters. One admires the lad who improvised with reluctant virtuosity:

Femina dux facti. Dux facti femina! Quid tum?
Quid tum! Tum facti femina dux . . .

But this meagre summary will give no real idea of the high quality of Professor Hudson's work. One of his conspicuous virtues is the fulness with which he quotes and translates the texts, especially those which have never found their way into print or are otherwise difficult of access. We welcome, too, the rich bibliography, pointing to many bypaths along which students of Martial will be tempted to go foraging. And there is much to be learned from the comments on such odd forms as the posy, emblema, Proteus, versus concordantes, and carmen correlativum; it is particularly illuminating to see how some of these influenced the style of Shakespeare and Milton.

The Greek quotations often wear their accents a bit awry, and of misprints there are just enough to plague precisians. The pentameter

... Aptat dum patria verba poetae lyrae (p. 137)
will scan if emended to read *patriae* and *poeta*; the translation ("... fits native words to the poet's lyre, ...") should be revised conformably.

ROGER PACK

University of Michigan

HERBAL OF RUFINUS

The Herbal of Rufinus, edited from the unique manuscript by LYNN THORNDIKE, assisted by FRANCIS S. BENJAMIN, JR.: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1946). Pp. xlv + 476. \$5.00.

STUDENTS OF THE HISTORY of science and medicine and, indeed, all students of the history of civilization will be grateful to Professor Thorndike and his sponsors for the publication of this significant volume.

The work itself is a kind of pharmacist's lexicon, dating from the early fourteenth century and largely excerpted from various previously known sources, but with additional notes evidently drawn by the compiler from his own experience and observation. These, here printed in larger type, constitute about one-fifth of the whole text, and contain many minute and detailed descriptions of plants quite unparalleled in any earlier author. Together with the systematic excerpts from known but often inaccessible earlier writers on *materia medica*, and with the compiler's abundant citation of synonyms, they will form a notable addition to the history of botany.

Even down to the time and person of Linnaeus, the science of botany was carried on primarily as an adjunct to the practice of medicine. Certainly this was true of the mediaeval herbalists, and our author and his sources have much to say of the diseases and physical conditions for which his herbs were recommended. He is still under the influence of the theory of humors—not to mention the appearance in his pages of many less learned superstitions—but his observations and occasional "experiments" show him to have been a man of inquiring and original mind, entitled to an honorable place in that expanding history of experimental science which Professor Thorndike has done so much to enlarge.

One commonly thinks of the middle ages as a period when intellectual activity was at a low ebb, unable to break through the bonds of ignorance and dogma that prevented men from seeing the physical world as it really

was. There were, however, notable exceptions, of whom Rufinus was certainly one. The trouble was that such men had to work in almost complete isolation from each other. The herbal of Rufinus was neglected by his immediate successors in the field of botany. Thorndike has been able to turn up only one work—aside from his own essay first calling attention to Rufinus (*Isis* 18 [1932] 63–76)—which refers to it by name, and that in the early fifteenth century. Rufinus, in turn, shows absolutely no acquaintance with the outstanding work of Albertus Magnus, while Albertus neglected one of Rufinus' most valued sources. Historians of civilization must take note of this curious insularity even as they record these exceptions, which can doubtless be multiplied.

Lt. Benjamin has transcribed the present text from rotographs of the sole extant (in Florence) manuscript, and has traced most of the citations. To judge from the facsimile of folio 52v published in *Isis* 36 (1946), facing p. 257, he has performed a difficult task with great accuracy. Professor Thorndike has traced the rest of the citations, including all those that refer to "Dioscorides" (see below), compiled the index, and composed the introduction. The forty-page index, in five sections, contains much material that will interest Romance linguists as well as historians of science; unfortunately, references are given only to the rather long columns of the original manuscript, not to the individual lemmata.

The somewhat discursive introduction discusses the value of Rufinus' work as well as the many points of difficulty concerning its date, sources, and composition. For example, the citations from "Dioscorides" do not correspond exactly to any known version of that author. Those quoted from a "Copho" correspond closely to passages in a *Liber graduum* ascribed to Constantinus Africanus in the 1536 edition of his *Opera*; but this *Liber graduum* shows little agreement with the passages quoted by Rufinus from a work bearing that title. Again, the quotations from "Dioscorides" and "Copho" are confined to

the first portion of the manuscript (A to N); the second portion (O to Z) is written in a different and apparently later hand. But notes bearing Rufinus' name are scattered through the whole work, and the table of contents, written in still a third hand and prefixed to the original manuscript, but here placed after the text proper, contains in its second part (beginning at the letter N and differing in other respects from the first part) references to *iste noster liber*, as if this part has been compiled by the author himself. Here are puzzles which still await solution.

One puzzle which Thorndike sees in the work, however, is not actually there. In a prefatory note (17ra), Rufinus describes the arrangement of the work: Sum[m]am igitur principium ab A, componendo A cum b. Item A cum c, postea cum d. Item cum e et f et g etc., et sic de omnibus litteris abecedarii. Thorndike (page xxxvi) takes this as indicating a strictly alphabetical arrangement, and charges the compiler with failing to observe it. Actually it means merely that the words will be alphabetized by the first two letters

of each, and no more—a common arrangement in mediaeval glossaries and one which is here observed fairly closely, though with some exceptions. Under a few letters, rare as initials (K, X, Y, Z), only the initial is counted. Under D, S, and T, the second letter to count in the grouping is the first vowel of the word, whether it stands in the second, third, or fourth place, thus: SEreta, StEllaria, SENationes . . . SELvagliola, StEar, SplEnetica, SImphitum, SIsleos, Silla, SpInachia, etc. If these principles are kept in mind, it is easy to spot the comparatively few lemmata which are out of place, and these errata, in turn, may throw some light on Rufinus' methods in compiling the work.

This is the first volume to be published in a projected corpus of mediaeval scientific texts sponsored jointly by the Mediaeval Academy of America and the University of Chicago. One hopes indeed that other volumes equally valuable will soon follow this highly auspicious beginning.

JOHN L. HELLER

University of Minnesota

ROMAN PANORAMA

GROSE-HODGE, HUMFREY, *Roman Panorama: A Background for To-day*: Cambridge, The University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company (1947). Pp. xviii+260. \$2.88.

"I BEGAN TO LEARN LATIN 'as a treat' on my sixth birthday and I have been learning it ever since," says the author in the Preface.

"My governess started me off by putting a Latin Grammar in front of me open at the declension of *mensa*; then, telling me that I had half an hour to learn it by heart, she left the room. I believe I learned it—after all, learning by heart was not so difficult 'when we were very young'—and I do not remember to have disliked my first Latin lesson as much as a more intelligent child probably would have. But I cannot say that I started to enjoy Latin till I knew something about the people who once spoke it—since when I have enjoyed it very much and never more than now."

Because modern education finds so little time for "learning about the Romans" along with, or without, learning Latin, this book attempts to tell people who are learning Latin "what it is all about," and for those who do not learn it, attempts to answer the question, "what is the use of Latin anyway?"

This book is not a history in the conventional acceptance, and yet it succeeds remarkably in giving a sense of history. It is what the title implies, a panorama, and an admirably broad one to be contained in so small a book. It is frankly a compilation from secondary sources, credit being given to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, *Cambridge Companion to Latin Studies*, Methuen's *History of the Greek and Roman World*, and books by Buchan, W. Warde Fowler, and Carcopino.

Under the headings Latin, Rome, The Romans Abroad, The Romans at Home, and Roman Remains, the panorama unfolds rap-

idly, each vista illuminated by a wealth of fact with only a minimum of theory. Transitory events like wars are sketched in sweeping strokes—a page to the Punic wars, a chapter each to *The Conquest of Italy* and *The Conquest of the World*—while essential institutions are limned in greater detail. The constitution, magistrates, imperial organization, and army are presented as integral elements of Rome's greatness which still shape our present. The Romans themselves are given flesh and blood, as we see their appearance and dress, their family life, their gods and houses, work and play.

The "Roman remains" treated in the final chapter are not ruins, which the author finds depressing. They are rather the living heritage that modern civilization receives from Rome. "The destiny of Rome in world history was nothing less than the making of Europe." The arts of architecture, portraiture, and lettering are selected from this complex heritage for special mention. So are the Latin language and literature, and the law, which in its highest manifestation, under the *Pax Romana*, embraced the *ius gentium*, "the law of international civilization."

Throughout the book Grose-Hodge repeatedly draws illustrative parallels between Roman and British institutions, history, and personal characteristics. He finds the Roman kingship akin to the British, and the Roman Senate equivalent to the British Houses of Parliament plus the Civil Service. When Augustus reformed the provincial administration by appointing career governors, "the result was the same as was achieved by the same methods when the Indian Civil Service replaced the East India Company after the Mutiny." On the basis of Roman portrait busts, the author judges that the Romans looked very much like the British.

"On the whole their features are perhaps rather 'bolder,' their necks thicker, and their heads flatter than ours; but at least the type is Nordic rather than Latin, more British than Italian The emperor Galba's portrait might be taken for John Bull and the living image of many a Roman bust may be found today in the bar-parlour of an English public house."

In character he considers the Romans to have been Scottish in their "grim tenacity," Victorian English in their love of magnificence, tradition, and ostentation, British in

"their sturdy common sense, their talent for compromise, their concern with action rather than with ideas, and in the strange way in which they combined insensibility to the feelings of others with a genius for government. British no less in a certain practical idealism, a code of duty and discipline which they seldom expressed and never quite forgot."

Non-British readers may willingly admit much of this introspective characterization as being instructive at least to British readers. But most readers are likely to feel that the panorama has somehow got out of focus on the next-to-the-last page, where it is implied that the current struggle with the Germans (writing in 1944) is a continuation of Rome's conflict with the ancient barbarians of Germany. "To-day, filled with a hate which springs from a darker barbarism, the Germans are striving to stamp out not only the material, but the spiritual legacy of Rome."

The author admits that in putting together his panorama he has selected the things that especially interested him. Plainly the book could not have been expanded to include all the interests of all its readers. But its value as a companion for Latin students might have been increased by a chapter, in its characteristic panoramic fashion, on Roman literature. And if that were possible only at the expense of one of the existing chapters, the disproportionately long description of the Roman army might have been reduced from two chapters to one.

Grose-Hodge is Head Master of Bedford School, and his book is admirably suited for young students of Latin who want to know "what it is all about." It is equally suitable for the layman or the teacher who needs to be told, or reassured, "what is the use of Latin anyway." The illustrations (plates, text-figures, maps) truly illustrate, being clear pictures of practical things without a trace of sentimental photography or factitious glamor. In admitting that he put in some things which have no "examination value" the author re-

veals the secret of much that is fresh and unique about this book. "At all events I have enjoyed writing it," he says.

"It has occupied nights of fire-watching and occasional half-holiday afternoons during three years of war; and amid the 'black-out' of so much that is true, lovely and of good report, I have found it a tonic and an anodyne. So may it prove to others for a little longer. The Romans knew what war was like, and they could 'take it.' Their civilization passed through its Dark Ages, and lived on to make a brilliant contribution to our own."

W. C. S.

MISCELLANEA

REPORTS of the sales of the two leading new beginner's Greek books suggest that interest in the language is certainly holding its own, if not actually looking up. The two books, both litho-printed and formerly handled by the authors, are now being handled by university presses on a commercial basis; and we are informed that one of them sold 3,600 copies last year. We might add that our columns this month carry an advertisement for a new Latin book handsomely published by a commercial house.

WE (and our readers) are reminded that contributions to the Semple Fund are still very much in order from friends and members of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. The purpose of the fund is to send a teacher in a secondary school from the territory of the Association to the American School at Athens or at Rome for study in the summer. The schools in question contribute half of the tuition fees and the Semple Fund contributes the other. Contributions (and applications for the scholarship) should be addressed to Professor John B. Titchener, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

FRIENDS of Miss Edna White in the New York area have organized a dinner in her honor to be given on Friday, April 30, in New York City.

Miss White is a past president of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, the New York Classical Club, and the New Jersey Classical Club. In addition to long service to the Classics

within her own area, Miss White is also noted for her devoted work on behalf of the American Classical League. In view of her recent retirement, the dinner is being held as a testimonial to her career of distinguished teaching and service beyond the call of duty.

The dinner will be at the Columbia University Men's Faculty Club at 6.30 P.M. The charge (all-inclusive) will be \$3.50. For tickets, a check should be sent to Mrs. Edith G. Colin, 130 W. 12th St., New York, N.Y.

A GRANT of \$500.00 through the Classical Association of the Middle West and South will be awarded in May, 1948, to a superior student graduating with a Bachelor's Degree from a college within the territory of the Association to enable the awardee to pursue work leading to a Master's Degree in Greek. Application forms are available through the office of the Secretary-Treasurer, 15 North Grand Boulevard, St. Louis 3, Missouri, and should be forwarded to Professor Clyde Pharr, Vanderbilt University, Nashville 4, Tenn. (chairman of the committee in charge).

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCE DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

Graduate Courses, Summer 1948

The following half courses, each equivalent to three hours or three credits, will be offered by the Department of Classics, New York University, June 28-August 6, 1948:

Classics 128. **PLAUTUS.** Reading and discussion of two plays; study of the influence of Greek New Comedy on Plautus, and of Plautus on the subsequent development of comedy. Asst. Professor Lionel Casson. TTh, 6:00-8:30 P.M.

Classics 248. **ARISTOPHANES, ACHARNIANS.** Contents of the play; evaluation of its importance in the Aristophanic corpus; lectures on the development of Attic comedy. Advanced students will read a second play. Dr. Procope S. Costas. MW, 6:00-8:30 P.M.

Classics 290. **THE ANCIENT CITY.** Principal ancient city types; sites, plans, defenses, public works, markets, industries, housing, and places of worship, as illustrated by archaeological reports. Assoc. Professor Jotham Johnson. MTh, 2:30-5:00 P.M.

For Graduate School Announcements and application forms, address the Dean, Graduate School of Arts and Science, New York University, New York 3, N.Y. For other information or for personal counsel, address the departmental adviser, Professor Jotham Johnson, Department of Classics, New York University, New York 3, N.Y.

New this spring

To help boys and girls

Get the most out of Latin—

USING LATIN

by HARRY FLETCHER SCOTT

ANNABEL HORN

JOHN FLAGG GUMMERE

*new first-year Latin course in the
Language, Literature, and Life Program*

Write for 16-page, four-color preprint

SCOTT, FORESMAN AND COMPANY

Chicago 11
Pasadena 2

Atlanta 3
San Francisco 5

Dallas 1
New York 10

The New Approach in Beginners' Greek

A READING COURSE IN HOMERIC GREEK

Raymond V. Schoder, S.J.

Vincent C. Horrigan, S.J.

A complete, interesting course for beginners in high school or college. Does for Greek what the Committee on Educational Policies of the Classical Association proposes for beginners' Latin (*Classical Journal*, November 1947, 67-90; March 1946, 254-65).

A striking new instrument for present needs. Simple, appealing, effective in content and methodology. Streamlined grammar, organized vocabulary, short integrated lessons, new pedagogical techniques. Develops quick, firmly grounded ability to read and enjoy Homer. 1,600 lines of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* selections with grammatical and literary comment. Inspirational essays on general Greek culture. Abundant exercise material, systematic derivative study. Helpful teacher's manual and complete key. New printing with corrections. Attractive cloth binding.

Book I, \$2.28

Book II, \$2.04

Transition to Attic Greek, 25 cents net

Loyola University Press
Chicago 13, Illinois

THE

MAY 1978

CLASSICAL

JOURNAL

Kikikian and Biquet . . .

The History of Ancient Metalware

Dorothy Kent Hill

Notes of . . .

Athenians at Home

Elizabeth Hazelton Wright

This is the last issue of Volume 43. The first issue of Volume 44 appears in October.

Cosmas, *From Herculaneum to Herculano* Helen H. Law 436

Adriano Romano's "Dioniso Imperatore" Anna 472

"We Live by the Paper" Department 473

From the "Firmament" (Part II) Henry F. Johnson 474

From "Classical Art and Odd" (Part III) Solomon Ravi 477

From "Stations" (Lina's Station) Editorial 482

The CEA: Perfect at Work Current Events 485

Virgilius Orestis, Pioneer of Italian "Writing" (Note) J. Hilbert Turner 486

A. Henry's "Wonders of Asia: Salt" (Note) Edward A. Scholz 488

Drugs and Events Departments 491

The "Ancient Greek" Approach to Caesar (Classroom) Helen O. Asch 492

De Libris Antiquis (Classroom) Elizabeth Smith 494

Johnson, "The Greek Anthology in France" (Review) Cornelia C. Carter 496

Robinson, "Alexander the Great" (Review) John H. Kent 498

Derjabin, "Political Forgiveness in Old Athens" (Review) John P. Fitchard 500

Druck, "List of Recent Books" Carolyn Y. Smith 501

General Notices in Non-Classical Periodicals Bennett Spoth 503

Title Page and Index to Volume 43

306 Pages 472-479

A MAGAZINE INTENDING TO THE THOUGHTFUL TEACHER AND THE PUBLIC THE INTERESTS OF ANCIENT CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION IN ITS RELATION TO MODERN LIFE

Classical

Modern Life

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor of The Classical Journal: NORMAN
L. DAWSON, Washington University

Editorial Board: THOMAS C. CARTER, Wash-
ington University

Editor of The Classical Journal: OSCAR L. NEBARKER, Uni-
versity of Iowa

Editor for Archaeology: FRANK J. FURNER, New
York University

Editor for The Teacher's Handbook: HENRY F.
JONES, The Institute, Clayton 5, Missouri

Editor for The English: ROSE A. FORTSON, Uni-
versity of Iowa

Editor for The Latin: ARTHUR F. MCKEY,
University of California (Los Angeles)

Editor for The Modern: JAMES FRANKLIN H.
KAPLAN, The Pennsylvania State College

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

GRACE L. BAKER, University of Texas, Dallas
W. M. CHASE, University of California, Berke-
ley

EDWARD L. BARNETT, University of California, Berke-
ley

JOHN L. HINDS, University of Minnesota
JOHN W. CHASE, Jr., Wesleyan University

EDWARD L. BARNETT, Cornell University; LOVELL
CARSON, Georgia Institute of Technology

CONTRIBUTORS

Address all correspondence regarding general
subscriptions, back copies, advertising, man-
uscripts, and review to: THE CLASSICAL
JOURNAL, 17 Wheeler Hall, Berkeley 4, California
94720. For manuscripts, use the New York
and Pacific and Atlantic offices should be sent
to the regional editors (see Editorial Board above).

SUBSCRIPTIONS

The annual subscription price is \$3.00 a year in
the United States. For subscription in other
countries, add \$1.00 for postage in each (total foreign
single copies, 40¢; foreign, 45¢; subscriptions for

less than a year will be charged at the single copy
rate).

MANUSCRIPT SUBSCRIPTIONS

Teachers and other individuals interested in the
classics may subscribe to THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL
by becoming members of one of the regional
classical associations listed below. Subscription to
the JOURNAL at a special rate is included in the
annual membership fee of \$5.00. Members may
take advantage of a special rate of \$3.15 which
includes subscription to THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL
and THE CLASSICAL OUTLOOK (published by the
American Classical League). Members of the
Classical Association of the Middle West and
South and the Classical Association of the At-
lantic States have the option of subscribing to
THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL or THE CLASSICAL
WRITER (published by the Classical Association
of the Atlantic States).

MEMBERSHIP

Address the Secretary-Treasurer of the appropriate
association, viz: CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE
MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH, W. C. Korfuscher,
Saint Louis University, 15 North Grand Blvd.,
St. Louis 5, Missouri; CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF
NEW ENGLAND, VAN L. JOHNSON, Tufts College,
Medford, Massachusetts; CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION
OF THE ATLANTIC STATES, FRANKLIN B.
KRAMER, The Pennsylvania State College, State
College, Pennsylvania.

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES,
W. M. CHASE, University of California (Box 37,
Wheeler Hall), Berkeley 4, California. BUT mem-
bers are requested to send their dues directly to
the sectional Secretary-Treasurer, viz: NORTH-
WEST REGION (ORE., WASH., B.C., IDAHO, MONT.),
Miss Margaret Schultz, 1715 N.E. Glisan, Port-
land, Oregon; CENTRAL REGION (California n.
of San Jose, OREGON, KERN, and SAN BENITO),
COUNTY (SAN JOSE), W. H. Alexander, University
of California (Box 37, Wheeler Hall), Berkeley 4,
California; SOUTHWEST REGION (the remainder of
Calif., ARIZONA, HAWAII), Miss Rosalia Wagner,
2040 Garfield Drive, Pasadena 11, California.

The Classical Journal is published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South with the coopera-
tion of the Classical Association of New England, the Classical Association of the Pacific States, and the Classical
Association of the Atlantic States. The journal will be published of course from October through May.

Printed as second-class matter at the Post Office at Berkeley, Wis., on October 10, 1933. A third-class rate is allowed
class matter by the St. Louis Post-Office Act of August 24, 1912. Authorization for mailing at special rate of postage
provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on October 24, 1934.

Printed by George S. Smith, Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

A Comprehensive History of

CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION: Greece and Rome

The following two volumes together represent a complete survey of Greek and Roman History. Each volume, however, may be obtained as a separate text.

Volume I—Greece

By Herbert Newell Couch, Brown University

Dr. Couch approaches his subject from the point of view that the cultural aspects of Greece should occupy the center of the stage with the historical theme filling in the necessary background. There is consistent emphasis of art and literature, philosophy, science, and architecture.

The organization of the material is based on classroom experience—resulting in many interesting and important departures from the usual method of presentation.

Published 1940

577 pages

6" x 9 1/4"

Volume II—Rome

By Russel Geer, Tulane University

This readable text stresses throughout the development of the constitution, the fundamentals of human ideals and conduct, and the basic issues that have influenced civilization. The story of popular government is presented at length; the growth of private law is treated in detail.

A unique and practical feature is the comparison between the government of the last century of the Republic and that of the United States.

Published 1940

414 pages

6" x 9 1/4"

**A SURVEY OF CLASSICAL
ROMAN LITERATURE**

By Dean Putnam Lockwood

Volumes I and II cover the entire field of classical Roman literature, tracing the origins, growth, climax, and decay of that great literature. Few, if any, other texts present the essentials of this organic whole so clearly for students of the original language. Selections from authors have been chosen particularly for their human appeal. The notes give clear, logical help on all difficulties.

"For the use of students who desire to get in one year a general introduction to Latin literature these two volumes are by all means the best available."

—Haven D. Brackets, Clark University

Pub. 1934 Volume I—350 pages Volume II—393 pages 5 1/4" x 8"

Send for your examination copies today

PRENTICE-HALL, INC., 70 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 11, N.Y.



KITCHEN AND BANQUET

FIG. 1. THE WINE-GOD WITH HIS WINE-CUP. DIONYSOS STANDS BEFORE A FEMALE VOTARY, HOLDING VINE BRANCHES AND A KANTHAROS, A TYPE OF CUP WITH BASE AND TWO STRAP HANDLES. THE SHAPE WAS IN USE BOTH FOR POTTERY AND FOR METAL (SEE FIG. 5). *Detail from an Athenian vase painting of the sixth century B.C. Walters Art Gallery.*